Horses and human values: The past, present and future of Australian jumps racing

Karen Ruse

School of Land and Food

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Tasmania

May, 2017

Declaration of originality

This thesis contains no material that has been accepted for a degree or diploma by the University or any other institution, except by way of background information that is duly acknowledged in the thesis, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due acknowledgement is made in the text of the thesis, nor does the thesis contain any material that infringes copyright.

Karen Ruse
May 2017

Authority of access

This thesis may be made available for loan and limited copying and communication in accordance with the Copyright Act, 1968.

Statement of Ethical Conduct

The research associated with this thesis abides by the international and Australian codes on human and animal experimentation, the guidelines by the Australian Government's Office of the Gene Technology Regulator and the rulings of the Safety, Ethics and Institutional Biosafety Committees of the University.

Karen Ruse
May 2017

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates how changing values regarding human-animal relationships are reflected in the past, present and future of Australian thoroughbred jumps racing. The inquiry starts with two premises. First, that animal lives matter, in their own right and on their own terms. Second, that human lives are shared with and shaped by the lives of animals in complex entanglements of nature and culture, space and place, time and history. Contributing to the emerging interdisciplinary field of human-animal studies, this research provides insight into the changing ways animals are imagined, experienced, treated and valued.

The study examines how the human-thoroughbred horse relationship is experienced, narrated and mediated in the context of Australian jumps racing. Jumps racing was chosen as the focus for this study because it sits at the centre of polarised and very public controversy about horse welfare and the use of animals for human entertainment. This research is timely given the protests, inquiries and bans directed at jumps racing, and the consequent responses of the racing industry, over the past decade. The research offers the first comprehensive account of the underlying and shifting social values in Australia that inform the activity of jumps racing and the human-horse relationships on which it is founded. This study thereby contributes to more constructive engagement across competing value positions and policy responses to this publicly sensitive issue.

After an introduction that situates this research in the field of human-animal studies, the first three chapters set the context for the empirical research that follows. Chapter 1 offers a novel historical account of the ways in which humans and horses have coevolved. The ethology of the horse and its combination of power, flight and social behaviours is shown to be a vital constituent of human-horse relationships that are notably different to human relationships with other animals. Chapter 2 lays out the co-evolutionary history of horse racing and introduces the thoroughbred racehorse, an animal shaped for the specific purpose of human entertainment. The evolution of the thoroughbred is charted through a complex mix of politics, nationalism, mercantile trade, class and social identity. Jumps racing is positioned within this narrative as a part of modern horse racing that maintains a strong amateur ethos, notions of bravery and courage by horse and rider and connections to social privilege and class. Chapter 3 investigates the economic, political and cultural origins of Australian thoroughbred

racing, and the nineteenth century English model on which it was based. Chapter 3 also uncovers the strong connections of jumps racing to particular places and people and describes the declining popularity of jumps racing in the twentieth century against the background of increasing social concern about the welfare of jumps horses.

Chapter 4 outlines the mixed-method research design used to investigate jumps racing in Australia, which is primarily comprised of hurdle and steeplechase races. Quantitative analysis of data collected by the racing industry is combined with thematic and narrative analysis of qualitative interviews with a diverse sample of 23 advocates and opponents of jumps racing, textual analysis of industry and media documents, and participant observation of jumps racing.

Chapter 5 explores changes in jumps racing over the second half of the twentieth century through the life-histories of interviewees. For many participants, jumps racing is not simply a sport or a livelihood, but is a life-long preoccupation that is central to their sense of identity, family, community and place. Present day jumps racing is recalled as less vibrant and popular than its historic practice.

Chapter 6 integrates empirical and qualitative data to show that jumps racing encompasses a distinct fraternity. Contemporary jumps racing comprises less than 1% of all races in Victoria and South Australia, the only states in which it is still practised. However, jumps racing is of economic, social and cultural significance to its community of practice, being variously regarded as a significant social event, bringing crowds to winter racing and a vital economic boost to local communities. Chapter 6 also considers the competing claims made in political and public debate about the safety of jumps racing in the light of analysis demonstrating that the record of horse injuries and deaths in jumps races has improved since 2008, although the safety risk of its steeplechasing component remains high.

Chapter 7 explores how human and horse lives are brought together and configured within jumps racing. Thematic analysis is used to investigate how humans understand and represent their experience of jumps horses. The findings reveal that thoroughbred jumps horses are valued in complex and occasionally contradictory ways, as mates, as members of the family, for their courage and stamina and for what is called ‘character’. Jumps horses are also valued as sources of employment, income and status, especially in those regional locations where jumps racing remains an important social hub and

economic generator for the community. Using a series of short narratives, Chapter 7 also investigates how participants perceive that horses experience, influence and help to construct relationships with individual humans. These narratives illustrate how horse agency contributes to and influences the human-horse bond in jumps racing.

Chapter 8 outlines participants views about the possible futures of Australian jumps racing in the light of continuing fatalities and public opposition to this activity. Chapter 9 summarises key findings about the human-thoroughbred relationship and relates these to the wider questions for, and consequences of, changing values about animals in Australian society. Chapter 9 concludes by suggesting further research on how historical human-animal practices, like horse racing, are socio-culturally normalized, why they are resistant to change and what practices are likely to be valued or tolerated by which sections of society. An understanding of values and attitudes towards horses and the human-horse relationships at the center of thoroughbred racing is needed, as this is an area that has been neglected in previous scholarship. This may help to better explain what is at stake for societies in such debates over how humans relate to, value and regard animals, and inform these social choices.

Table of contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Acronyms

AJC - Australian Racing and Jockey Club

AJRA - Australian Jumping Racing Association

CPR - Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses

GSB - General Stud Book

FEI - Federation Equestrian International

HAS - human-animal studies

JRP - Jump Review Panel

NSW - New South Wales

NZ - New Zealand

RA - Racing Australia

RVL - Racing Victoria Limited

SA - South Australia

SAJC - South Australian Jockey Club

SAJR - South Australian Jumps Racing

STC - Sydney Turf Club

RSPCA- The Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals

TRSA - Thoroughbred Racing South Australia

TAB - Totaliser Agency Board

Vic - Victoria

VRC - Victoria Racing Club

VATC - Victorian Amateur Turf Club

Glossary

Colt - A male horse of not more than five years old.

Dog it - An Australian colloquialism meaning to run away like a dog.

Drench - To treat a horse for internal parasites.

Filly - A female horse under four years old.

Float-a purpose built wheeled structure used to transport horses, usually towed behind a vehicle. Sometimes called a truck or box.

Gelding - A castrated male horse of any age.

Mare - A female horse over four years old.

Stallion - A male horse that is not castrated (gelded).

Spell - To give the horse an extended break from racing.

Totaliser or Tote - A device that automatically registers bets and divides the total amount bet and amongst those who win in a pari-mutuel betting system. The stakes on all competitors is divided pro rata to the stakes placed on the winning competitor and those tickets are paid out. Essentially it implements a system of starting price (SP) betting.

Turn out - To put a horse in a paddock for a short time.

Preface

Until a few months ago, my daily life was intimately intertwined and shared in the company of horses. Since the 1980s, I have spent countless hours enjoying their quiet companionship, feeding, grooming, caring for and riding horses. Horses influenced, if not controlled, my daily routines and, as my husband will tell anyone, my bank balance.

There have been many horses in my life, all different, all special and all forming a significant part of my life. My leisure hours have been shared with horses of all shapes, sizes and personalities; beautiful Arabians, fat ponies of unknown breeding, sensitive thoroughbreds, phlegmatic quarter horses and more. I regularly attend thoroughbred races as a member of the Canberra Racing Club and I love the visceral experience of horse racing. I cannot imagine my life without the presence of horses.

In 2003, my life with horses irrevocably changed when, on 18 January 2003, a cataclysmic firestorm hit Canberra. In the space of four hours, four people died, 500 homes were lost and 38 horses died on our property. I have a few remaining memories of that day. I remember begging a stranger to evacuate two of my horses as I said, "Just take them", and seeing flames hit the side of my beloved Maan's horse float as it left our laneway. I can still recall the hideous sound of the explosive firestorm roaring across our paddocks and the silence of horses in the smoke-filled indoor arena as the firestorm rolled over the top of us. On Sunday, 19 January 2003, I was left with three horses, three halters, three lead ropes and a water bucket. Everything else had gone.

In the aftermath of that day, I made a decision to return to study and undertake the degree in equine science offered at Charles Sturt University. My decision was taken in response to the events of that day, an emotional need to understand better why horses meant so much to me, so much that I had endangered my own life to help save theirs. From day one of that course, I became fascinated and intrigued with horses' physiological adaptations to life-on-the-move and their resulting and astonishing power of speed. I later became equally fascinated by the disparate social and cultural ways in which humans have valued and used horses throughout history, and their contemporary role as leisure companions.

When offered the opportunity to participate in the Australian Research Council-funded project, 'Caring for Thoroughbreds', I leapt at the chance. I brought to this project my knowledge of horses, as well as of thoroughbred racing, and a background in evaluation from my working life in risk management and internal auditing for the Australian Federal Government. But what I really wanted to know was, what is it about horses and the human-horse relationship that continues to make horses relevant and important in the twenty first century? I also wanted to look into the debate about the use of animals in human entertainment. What is it about horses that results in such impassioned and polarised conflict between opponents and supporters of horse racing? Why is it that particular activities, such as thoroughbred jumps racing, attract especial controversy?

My recent decision to no longer ride and care for horses, to have that daily 'horse fix', has fundamentally changed the routine of my life. My sense of grieving and loss for this part of my former life has challenged me to again question why horses mean so much to me. Better understanding of human-animal relationships has helped me to explore the complexities and contradictions inherent in my emotional attachments to my non-human family and, with that, my own values. My ongoing relationship with horses continues, albeit in a different form, through completion of this thesis and my continuing research into twenty first century human-horse relationships.

Acknowledgements

This research was undertaken as part of the Australian Research Council (ARC)-funded project, DP130104933, 'Caring for Thoroughbreds'. My fieldwork and this thesis address jumps racing, an activity identified in the ARC project as a highly visible welfare issue that conflicts with discourses that challenge the use of animals for human entertainment. By examining how discourses about jumps racing have changed over time, and between regional and urban locations, my study contributes to understanding better the values held by participants and opponents of jumps racing. These findings may therefore help to inform changes to the conduct of horse racing around the world. The chief investigators, Professors Phil McManus and Paul McGreevy (The University of Sydney), Sue Roberts (University of Kentucky), and Associate Professor Aidan Davison (University of Tasmania) are thanked for the opportunity to participate in this project. Without your encouragement, enthusiasm and support, this research would not have taken place.

Associate Professor Aidan Davison and Doctor Kerry Bridle (University of Tasmania) are especially thanked for their supervision, guidance and advice over the course of this research. You were amazing throughout and always in my corner encouraging me to produce a thesis that I am proud of.

Doctor Raewyn Graham is thanked for her friendship, practical advice and encouragement to complete this thesis. Ms. Giselle Allegra is thanked for her assistance with copy editing. Ms. Jenny Barnes and Ms. Liss Ralston are thanked for allowing me to use their images.

I wish to express my gratitude to all of my participants. I feel very privileged by our shared conversations and your insights about horses and the world of Australian jumps racing.

Charlie and Jenny Morgan are thanked for welcoming me into their home during my visits to Hobart. My husband, Bill, is thanked for his total and unqualified support and patiently enduring our many breakfast conversations about my latest discoveries in the world of human-animal studies.

The quantitative data of Chapter 6 was published as Ruse, K., Davison, A., & Bridle, K. (2015). Jump Horse Safety: Reconciling Public Debate and Australian Thoroughbred Jump Racing Data, 2012–2014. *Animals*, *5*(4), 1072-109

Introduction

The prominent scholar, Marc Bekoff (2013, p 68) asserts that *"*animals matter because they exist, not because of what they can do for us*"*. My study starts from this premise that animals matter and that human lives are shared with the lives of animals in complex entanglements of nature and culture, space and place, time and history. Like Bekoff, I think that animal lives matter in their own right and on their own terms. But my study is also premised on the understanding that animals help us to understand what it means to be human (Bear 2011; Marvin and McHugh 2014; Nosworthy 2013; Warkentin and Watson 2014). It is, as Marvin and McHugh (2014, p 1) note, *"*difficult to imagine how we could mark ourselves out as human without other animals, for we have become human alongside other animals*"*. Drawing upon the emerging interdisciplinary field of human-animal studies this present research focusses on what can be learned about shifting human values and social contexts from human engagements with horses. I take as my specific focus the now-controversial activity of thoroughbred jumps racing in Australia.

Introducing human-animal studies

Human lives have been entwined with animal lives from the beginning. Indeed, the story of human evolution is a reminder of how thin are all distinctions between animal and human lives. Humans have variously valued animals for their utility as sources of food, clothing, medicine, transport and muscle power. Equally various are the ways in which animals have been valued for less utilitarian values, such as those related to aesthetics, leisure, religion and companionship.

It is not just human identities that are constituted through relationships with animals. In modern, Western societies animals are routinely categorised based on their perceived use or value to humans (Urbanik and Johnston 2017). Animal categories, such as pet, laboratory animal, wildlife or livestock, shape not only how the animal is seen but also how they are treated (Philo and Wilbert 2000). As opined by DeMello (2012), being an animal in the modern world has little to do with biology and everything to do with human culture. Thus, an animal's physical presence can be less important to their status and treatment by people than their symbolic and social meaning. How societies classify animals shapes how humans perceive them, while these perceptions, in turn, shape how animals are classified (DeMello 2012).

The long, value-laden association of humans and animals has attracted much scholarship across diverse disciplines, including, but not limited to, veterinary studies, biology, ecology, geography, anthropology, ethology, zoology, philosophy, religious studies, art and history (Chamberlin 2006; Kelenka 2009; McShane and Tarr 2007; Olsen 2003). The ethical basis of the treatment of animals within modern, Western contexts came under sustained challenge in the latter decades of the twentieth century. Peter Singer (1975) and Tom Regan (1983), in particular, argued that much prior scholarship about animals was anthropocentric, or ethically human-centred, implicitly privileging human concerns and experiences; a form of moral oppression Singer described as speciesism. Animal rights movements and environmental ethics scholars did much during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s to unsettle common practices and assumptions about animals (Armstrong and Botzler 1993). Building on these origins, human-animal studies took shape as a field in its own right around the turn of the twenty first century (Ritvo 2007). Human-animal studies foreground the human-animal relationship, and more fully places animals within worlds of human meaning, exploring how humans encounter and relate to animals. Human-animal studies provides insight into the ways animals are imagined, experienced and given significance. This inquiry therefore reveals also a good deal about what it means to be human (Marvin and McHugh 2014). Not for nothing did the influential feminist scholar, Donna Haraway (1991, p 21) observe: *"*We polish an animal mirror to look for ourselves*"*.

Rather than understanding animals as playing a passive role in human-animal relations, human-animal studies places the animal *"*at the centre of the relationship and perceives it as a subject and agent contributing to the encounters observed and studied*"* (Nyman and Schuurman 2015, p 2). In this sense, human-animal scholars investigate the coproduction of human-animal relationships. Thinking about animals as inseparable from human lives constitutes a "decisive break" from much previous scholarship about animals, especially that coming from physical science disciplines (Marvin and McHugh 2014, p 2). In so doing, human-animal studies challenges the pejorative characterisation of anthropomorphism long present in scientific animal studies. Anthropomorphism is defined as the attribution of human-like traits or emotions to non-human objects, deities or animals (Byrd 2017). Charges of anthropomorphism are often used in a pejorative sense to imply a lack of scientific rigour and objective standards by putting human values and meanings onto animal behaviour; for example, a person saying about a horse, "he is so cheeky". In response, many human-animal scholars provide judicious acknowledgement of the role of anthropomorphism in contributing

to better understanding of human-animal relationships (Scott 2009). As Bekoff (2013, p 61) states, the *"*way human beings describe and explain the behaviour of other animals is limited by the language they use to talk about things in general*"*. However, anthropomorphism is not simply an issue of semantics and representation. It can legitimately enable human inquiry into non-human lives (Teittinen 2015). By engaging in anthropomorphism and using human terms and experiences to explain animals' emotions or feelings, humans make other animals' worlds accessible to themselves (Allen and Bekoff 1997; Bekoff and Allen 1997; Crist 1999). According to Dashper (2017, p 3), "[a]s a strongly embodied form of interspecies encounter, an element of anthropomorphism may be essential to understanding human-horse relationships".

The field of human-animal studies explores why and how animals are represented, identified and treated in different ways in human cultures and societies. Such studies reveal that attitudes and practices involving animals are not static and that they change depending on the multitude of economic, socio-political and cultural factors that influence human-animal relations (Barua 2014; Elder, Wolch and Emel 1998; Neo 2012). Human methods of representing and using animals play a vital role in the construction of social differences, such as those based upon race, gender and class. By closely examining the social categories constructed around and through animals, humans can come closer to understanding the underlying causes and consequences of particular relationships with animals. In better understanding the social construction of human-animal relationships, human-animal studies can contribute by explaining the way social meanings are used to perpetuate social distinctions and differences. Reconstructing the social history of animals also sheds light on animal agency and, with this, an animal's role in creating its own history (DeMello 2012). An aim of this research is to investigate how humans perceive that animals experience, influence and help to construct human-animal relationships.

Animal geography has emerged as a key sub-field within human-animal studies due to the focus on material encounters between animals and humans. This sub-field is defined by Urbanik (2012, p 38) as *"*the study of where, when, how and why non-human animals intersect with human societies*"*. This is the study of the complex entanglement of human-animal relations within space, location, environment and landscape (Philo and Wilbert 2000). Animal geography explores the ways that animals encounter humans and the ways that humans encounter animals (DeMello 2012). Humans and animals coexist in many shared

spaces (Hovorka 2008; Philo and Wolch1998; Wolch 2002), in urban spaces, in the home (Ginn 2013; Power 2009), in liminal spaces (Power 2009) and, in the case of parasites and bacteria, in human bodies (Hird 2010).

Much existing research has emphasised the coproduction of animal and human lives. Bear (2011) suggests that that there is a need for research that pays attention to individual difference, between different species of animals, and between different animals of the same species. The generic focus on animals has underpinned a neglect of difference between different animal species, and differences between individuals within a single animal species. Bear (2011) expands the scope of animal geographies and human animal relationships to a greater range of environments and species, such as fish and even an octopus (named Angelica), to show that airless spaces, cold blood or scales and tentacles, do not act as barriers to interspecies affective encounters. This expansion of human animal studies to a broader range of species, indicates the need for the further widening and deepening of human animal research with animal diversity.

The spatial distribution of animals in the home as pets, on farms as livestock, in laboratories, in zoos, in the 'wild', in virtual worlds, in culture and in religions, informs us about how animals are variously incorporated into human societies. "Animal places" are determined not so much as by animals themselves but through human practices, such as those integral to imperialism, masculinity, femininity, class, racialisation and livelihoods (Emel and Urbanik 2010, p 203). Animals are understood to have the capacity to direct change by shaping politics, culture, social life, economics and the construction of space and knowledge (Gillespie and Collard 2015). A key aim of my research is therefore to explore associations between place and the human-animal relationship.

Human-animal studies can help to unravel how humans construct identities for themselves through animals and the ethical and societal consequences of their interactions with animals. Thus human-animal studies include not just descriptive approaches to the relationships themselves, but also normative approaches to the values-based and changing nature of human-animal relationships. Influenced by the work of Haraway (2008), in particular, critical animal studies recently emerged as an offshoot within human-animal studies and focus on the political and ethical transformation of human-animal relationships. Critical animal scholars regard animals as being routinely subject to unjustifiable violence and appropriation by

humans. They also challenge the belief that humans are exceptional, superior or transcendent animals (Gillespie and Collard 2015; Haraway 2008). Critical animal study views human exceptionalism as a product of *"*intersecting social, political, economic, scientific philosophical and religious histories*"* that can and ought to be contested (Collard and Gillespie 2015, p 7).

Human-animal studies not only poses new and exciting challenges to the ways humans think about animals, it also poses challenges for the researcher, requiring them to consider how to give 'voice' to non-human participants in human-animal relationships. The question of how humans can investigate and know animal worlds remains inherent in all studies of human-animal relationships. The field of human-animal studies is, in a sense, discipline agnostic, although informed by many disciplines. It therefore challenges conventional methodologies and may require new means of enquiry, consequent on the irreducible ontological differences between humans and animals.

Crossing boundaries: human-horse relationships

While the field of human-animal studies encompass a wide and growing range of non-human species, the study of horses has grown prominent over the past decade (Birke 2007; Birke and Hockenhull 2012; Birke, Hockenhull and Creighton 2010; Campbell 2013; Dashper 2017; Gerber and Young 2013; Latimer and Birke 2009; Schuurman and Franklin 2015; Schuurman 2014). Horses are one of the few animals that cross many of the common animal categories constructed by modern societies to classify animals; for example, livestock, pet and wildlife. The changing nature of human-horse relationships exemplifies a considerable number of issues pertinent to the study of contemporary human-animal relationships. First, the ethology of horses influences the nature of the human-horse relationship. Their size, power, flight behaviours and social behaviours together shape a relationship with humans that is fundamentally different to human relationships with household animal companions, like cats and dogs. Horses, unlike dogs and cats, do not cuddle on the couch, sleep in the bed or go for rides in the car but, according to Keaveney (2008, p 444), horses do *"*know their names, beg for food and generally try to please their human companions*"*. Humans invest love, attention and financial resources in horses and human-horse relationships provide a unique context to further understand human and non-human relationships (Keaveney 2008).

In modern Western cultures, horses straddle across the boundaries of the human-constructed categories of livestock, companion and pet, and their 'value' to humans is determined by a range of competing and, occasionally, uncertain factors. As pets and companions, the horse is valued for *"*the physical pleasures of grooming, the sense of connection, partnership and mutual trust from shared embodied riding; for feelings of happiness, relaxation, escape, freedom, transcendence, communion with nature and spirituality; a sense of community in the barn and a sense of accomplishment and self-actualisation or confidence*"* (Davis and Maurstad 2016, p 5). For some, the horse is a healer, embodying nobility, beauty, grace, patience, kindness, a tractable personality and a willingness to work; traits that have become imbued in the closeness and mutuality of horse-human relationships over the past 6,000 years (Hansen 2013; Lawrence 1988; York, Adams and Cody 2008). Within such human-horse relationships, horses are agents and social beings, individuals with their own biographies, temperaments and talents (Birke 2004). Horses are thus intrinsic to the construction of human identities, including the formation and enactment of national, cultural, gender, age and other subcultural identities (Adelman and Knijnik 2013; Birke, Hockenhull and Creighton 2010; Davis, Maurstad and Dean 2014).

There exists a lengthy history of scholarship in sport studies that considers horses. Horses have been an important participant in sport since the earliest days of their domestication. Olympic scholarship considers that horses were an integral component of the ancient games and they are still included in the current games in equestrian events (Huggins 2000). Furthermore, as participants in interspecies sport, horses have developed or been ascribed with particular or distinguishing identities (Davis and Maurstad 2016) and may be bred for particular characteristics of appearance or temperament to enhance their economic value (Gilbert and Gillet 2012). Thus, the modern horse can be valued as any or all of the following: companion, family member, workmate, athlete, national or regional identity, livelihood and commodity.

Horses also often physically embody culturally valued traits, such as strength, stamina and adaptability to the landscape, and have been interpreted as markers of national identity in Australia (Pearce 2009), the Sakha republic (Maj 2009), Spain (Thompson 2011), Ireland (Latimer and Birke 2009), Wales (Hurn 2008a, 2008b), England (Cassidy 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2005) and Kyrgyzstan (Cassidy 2009). Considering horses as symbols is a major form of social power, and the strong material value attributed to such horses allows them to

significantly impact the lives of their owners. Consider, for example, the international processes of commodification of the Connemara pony, Ireland's native breed of horse, which has caused this breed to become a highly sought after children's riding pony. According to Brown, through the processes of international commodification, the Connemara pony is not only revalued, but "symbolically and physically intermeshed in representations of Irish identity, and 'notions of 'Irishness' both regionally and nationally, the present and the past, and of tradition and modernity*"* (2016, p 80).

This Research

The activity of horse racing is almost as old as the human-horse relationship itself. Since the earliest days of horse domestication, humans have used the natural speed of horses for entertainment, in the form of horseback racing, chariot racing or carriage driving competitions. For nearly 300 years, the thoroughbred horse has been specifically bred by humans for racing and its inherent behavioural and physiological adaptations for speed. As eloquently and evocatively described by Cassidy (2007 a, p vii), "[h]orse racing is ancient and modern in outlook, global and local in scope. Something of the drama of human experience is inscribed in every horse race. Every race contains the potential to evoke elemental emotions and events: triumph, disappointment, disaster, tragedy, death*".* The history of thoroughbred racing and its traditions reveal many factors that have shaped the human-horse relationship, including political, social, cultural and economic. And, at the centre of the activities that produce the spectacle of modern thoroughbred racing, is a human-animal relationship.

The research reported here investigates why horses, and the thoroughbred racehorse in particular, matter to humans, with a particular focus on the now-controversial activity of Australian jumps racing. Australian jumps racing is at the centre of a public controversy about the welfare of horses because of routine deaths and injuries to horses (McManus and Montoya 2012; Montoya, McManus and Albrecht 2012). This debate highlights changing public perceptions of horses and, in particular, changing values and attitudes towards the use of horses for human entertainment (The Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses 2015; Royal Society for the Protection of Animals, Victoria 2015; Thomas 2016). Despite the public controversy that now surrounds this activity, there has been a notable lack of social research into Australian jumps racing and the shifting social values on which it is founded. In

this context, the present research addresses the human-thoroughbred horse relationship, thoroughbred race practices and representations of the thoroughbred racehorse, and the ways in which the human-thoroughbred relationship is situated, experienced, narrated and mediated through the context of Australian thoroughbred jumps racing. The investigation melds the way in which humans and human society construct animal identities, as well as changing human attitudes and values about horses. My approach is consistent with the interdisciplinary approach of human-animal studies which draws from many disciplines, but are not biased towards a single theoretical interpretation.

Research question

The specific question addressed in this research is as follows: How are changing values regarding human-animal relationships, in general, and human-horse relationships, in particular, reflected and represented in the past, present and future of Australian thoroughbred jumps racing?

Thesis approach

Chapter 1, The Coevolving Human-Horse Relationship, offers a novel, historical account of the ways in which humans and horses have coevolved. The ethology of the horse and its combination of power, flight and social behaviours is shown to be a vital constituent of human-horse relationships that are notably different to human relationships with other animals. I consider how the ethology of the horse affected the first interactions between humans and horses. I then investigate the mutual shaping of people and horses through the processes of horse domestication. Finally, the many material changes that flowed from these processes are described, such as the expansion of horses into new geographic ranges, innovations in tools, transport, warfare and the spread of trade and culture, including the spread of Indo-European languages.

Chapter 2, The History of Horse Racing, lays out the history of horse racing and introduces the thoroughbred racehorse, an animal shaped for the specific purpose of human entertainment. The chapter charts the evolution of the thoroughbred horse through a complex mix of politics, nationalism, mercantile trade, class and social identity. Jumps racing is positioned within this narrative as a part of modern horse racing that maintains a strong amateur ethos, notions of human and horse bravery and courage, and connections to social privilege and class.

Chapter 3, Australian Horse Racing, investigates the economic, political and cultural origins of Australian thoroughbred racing, and the nineteenth century English model on which it was based, including the connections of jumps racing to particular places and people. The chapter also charts the declining popularity of jumps racing in the twentieth century against the background of increasing social concern about horse welfare.

Chapter 4, Research Design and Approach, sets out the rationale for the mixed-method research approach chosen, the benefits as well as the limitations of this research strategy and how quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis were implemented. The chapter also describes the assurance strategies implemented in order to comply with the requirements of the Tasmanian Social Sciences Human Ethics Research Committee.

Chapter 5, The Past of Australian Jumps Racing, draws primarily upon the life histories of semi-structured interview participants involved in jumps racing. The Chapter investigates the importance of tradition and traditional practices, economics, status and class in the Australian history of jumps racing. The importance of place and of regional identity are also examined in key locations in South Australia and Victoria.

Chapter 6, Australian Jumps Racing in the Present, investigates Australian thoroughbred jumps racing during the period between 2009 and 2017 and integrates quantitative and qualitative data in order to provide insights into the social, geographic, political and economic underpinnings of contemporary jumps racing, and into the sources of value-based controversy that now surround this activity.

Chapter 7, Human-horse Relationships in Australian Jumps Racing, explores how human and horse lives are brought together and configured within jumps racing. This chapter uses thematic and narrative analysis of interviews to investigate how humans describe, represent and value jumps horses by employing descriptions of individual horses and human-horse relationships. Chapter 7 also investigates how participants perceive that horses experience, influence and help to construct such relationships.

Chapter 8, The future of Australian jumps racing considers participant views about the future of jumps racing and the immediate outlook for the 2017 season. Chapter 9, Values on the Run: Learning from Australian Jumps Racing, concludes and synthesises the preceding

analysis. This chapter summarises key findings about the human-thoroughbred relationship and relates these to the wider questions for, and consequences of, changing values about animals in Australian society. This may help to explain and better understand what is at stake for societies in such debates over how humans relate to, value and regard animals, and inform these social choices.

Chapter 1: The coevolving human-horse relationship

1.1. Horses before humans

The evolutionary prehistory of the horse resulted in a large grazing animal physiologically specialised for 'life-on-the-move', able to cover long distances over large plains in search of food and water. Behavioural adaptations accompanied physiological specialisation and emphasised flight and speed so as to outrun predators. As I show in this chapter, these specialisations of physiology and behaviour, in turn, shaped the subsequent history of human interaction with horses, including their eventual domestication, a process that fundamentally changed horse and human lives, as well as the global course of human history.

The life-on-the-move of today's horses *(Equus caballus)* evolved over approximately 60 million years. Their earliest ancestors were small dog-sized forest dwellers who existed on a diet of soft leaves and fruit. These equid ancestors walked on several spread-out toes, reflecting an adaptation for walking on soft, moist forest ground (Froehlich 2002; Lewis 1937; McFadden 2005). By around 58 million years ago, the horse's ancestors had expanded their original range from North America to across all continents, with the exception of Australia and Antarctica (Hofreiter and Stewart 2009). This evolutionary radiation was not simply a succession of linear events. It is better described as a 'bush-like' evolution with many geographical radiations associated with climatic changes, new food sources and the transition from a browsing to a grazing lifestyle (Bennett 1992; Bennett and Hoffmann 1999; Hulbert 1996).

From about 40 million years ago, during the Eocene period, ancestral equids transitioned from eating tree foliage and fruit to grazing grasses. This dietary transition was marked by new physiological adaptations for the digestion of grass, including the development of larger and more durable teeth, with grinding molars and a lengthened jaw (Bennett 1992). Unlike cattle, horses could graze continuously and digest grass 'on the move' and did not have to stop and ruminate (Bennett 1992; Bennett and Hoffmann, 1996; Froehlich 2002; Prothero 1999; Sommer *et al*. 2010; van Asperen 2010). As horse ancestors moved from forests to open plains, their body shape became increasingly specialised for speed in order to outrun the new predators encountered on the grass plains. Limbs lengthened and back toes lifted from the ground in such a way that the weight of the body was gradually placed on one of the longest toes, the third. These elongated legs with single hoofs became that of the long-

distance runner. Telescoping limbs conferred advantages of increased height and stride length, a rigid spine provided for rapid acceleration and speed, and hind legs became specialised for running fast along a straight-line trajectory (Bennett and Hoffmann 1999). Their increased size also meant that horses could see longer distances. In contrast to their main predators, whose eyes are in the front of their heads, horses' eyes sit on the sides. This means that horses have a nearly 360-degree field of view and a capacity to focus on distant objects (Keaveney 2008). New social behaviours also helped horses to adapt and survive and, unlike their solitary forest-dwelling ancestors, they became herd animals, living in strict social hierarchies (Budiansky 1997; Grandin and Johnston 2005). These social behaviours of horses are quite different from that of other mammals, such as the cat, dog or human (Keaveney 2008).

The climatic warming associated with the start of the Holocene period, around 10,000 years ago, saw dramatic ecological changes that affected large land vertebrates in Eurasia and America, including horses (Hofreiter and Stewart 2009). In America, all equid species became extinct (Koch and Barnosky 2006). In Eurasia, the distribution of horses contracted into southwest Asia and Central Asia (Hofreiter and Stewart 2009), in a more or less contiguous range stretching from the Carpathian Mountains to Mongolia (Olsen 1996 a ; Olsen, Grant, Choyke, and Bartosiewicz 2006). The only geographic region in Western Europe where a continuous fossil record for horses appearing to exist until at least 5,000 years ago was the Iberian Peninsula (Warmuth *et al.* 2011). By around 10,000 years ago, the ancestral wild horse species (*Equus ferus)* remained the single equine species in Eurasia (Eisenmann 1983; Weinstock *et al.* 2005). It was not until around 6,000 years ago that horse numbers slowly started to increase again in Europe and Asia (Kalis, Merkt, and Wunderlich 2003; Sommer *et al.* 2010).

By about 5,000 years ago, horses stood about 130 cm tall and had become plain and steppe dwellers adapted to cooler climates and cold grasslands. Horses could graze on winter grass through snow and break through frozen water to drink. Horses could eat small quantities of grass continuously while on the move, cover long distances to obtain food and water and accelerate fast in a straight line in order to outrun their predators (Bennett 1992).

1.2. Horses and human hunters

The first contact between humans and horses was most probably that of predator and prey (Olsen 1996). The earliest records of the human use of horses depicted the hunting of horses for food, as seen in French and Spanish cave paintings dated to the Palaeolithic period around 17,000 years ago (Goodwin 1999). It is likely that horses were an important and fairly common food source for humans by about 10,000 years ago (Olsen 1996). Horses represented the most frequent of the more than 30 mammal species depicted in European cave art from this period. The most common scenes were of horses being hunted for food (Ludwig *et al.* 2009; Pigeaud 2007; Pruvost *et al.* 2011). Olsen (1996 a) suggested that early humans engaged in cooperative hunting strategies whereby horses were driven to their death over cliffs or other obstacles. For example, Roche de Solutre in France, appears to have been a natural corral where up to 10,000 horses were killed in such drives (Olsen a 1996). These hunters apparently used most parts of the horses, including meat, bones and hide. There is limited direct evidence in the archaeological record of this period as to the cultural significance of horses to these early hunters. Nevertheless, given their importance as a source of food and artefacts, as well as the special care given to horse skulls and teeth, and the prevalence of horses in cave paintings, it can be assumed that horses were accorded symbolic and religious significance (Olsen 1989).

1.3. Domesticating horses

The domestication of horses may be defined using either scientific or broader cultural frameworks, or a combination of both. These definitions are supported by different types of evidence that result in differing estimates for the precise date and location of horses' domestication. The scientific definition centres on human control over breeding, as evidenced by the variation in bone size and robustness commonly associated with the selective breeding of horses by humans for specific physical traits and the conversion of horses into property (Clutton-Brock 1994). In contrast, the broader cultural definition emphasises the close relationship between humans and horses that relies on interpretive information, such as art or artefacts, and symbolic representations, such as horse burials (Ingold 1994). Ultimately, domestication involves both biological processes, including that of the alteration of horses through selective breeding, as well as social and cultural change in both humans and horses (Russell 2007). As suggested by Cassidy (2007 b, p 4), "domestication no longer unambiguously denotes a conscious and unequal power relationship between distinct agents", in this case, horses and humans.

Recent academic interest in human-animal relations has focussed attention on the agency of animals within the process of domestication. For example, Diamond (1997), identified preconditions of both biology and behaviour that together facilitate the process of domestication:

- a willingness by the animal to consume a wide variety of food sources and live off food not utilised by humans;
- reasonably fast growth rates and fast maturity;
- ability to breed in captivity;
- a disposition deemed pleasing by humans;
- a herding instinct and a temperament that makes the animal unlikely to panic; and
- a modifiable social hierarchy, such that dominance can be transferred to humans.

Although domestication is a process by which humans seek control over an animal for some human purpose, it is facilitated by many non-human factors. It is a process that enables both humans and animals to come together into a close coexistence (Marvin and McHugh 2014). While clearly influenced by human motives and maintained by the imposition of human control, domestication can also be understood as meeting at least some non-human needs. The long-accepted dichotomy between wild and domesticated animals has done much to mask the ways in which both humans and animals have participated in the process of domestication (Marvin and McHugh 2014).

It is probable that the domestication of horses occurred around 5,000 years ago in Central Asia and the Ukraine. The core human motivations for domestication were likely linked to diet. Around 4,200 to 3,700 years ago, near Dereivka in the Ukraine, the horse appears in the archaeological record as the dominant game animal, contributing over 25% of the meat in human diets of these regions (Anthony 1991a; Anthony and Brown 2003). At that time, the steppes west of the Ural Mountains represented a new colder and less fertile geographic range for horses that brought them into closer association with humans (Kelenka 2009; Warmuth *et al.* 2012). The process of the domestication of horses was particularly challenging, because capturing and restraining large fast horses required new forms of capture, control and

restraint (Olsen 2006). However, the benefits to these early humans of an assured supply of meat and milk provided a strong motivation for capturing and domesticating horses.

In keeping with acknowledgement of the role of animals in shaping their domestication, archaeological studies reveal that the domestication of horses was a long, slow process of mutual adaptation, of 'coevolution,' in which those animals that began to hang around the first permanent human settlements gained more than they lost (Budiansky 1997). According to Budiansky (1997), raising horses in captivity was the response of people living on the fringes of ancient society in resource-poor areas. Likewise, it was in the remote, resource-poor reaches of horses' natural ranges that they were most likely to enter into intimate contact with humans (Budiansky 1997). Although Budiansky recognises that horses were more than passive objects in the process of domestication, he privileges the human side of this relationship, arguing that humans snatched horses *"*from the jaws of extinction*"* (Budiansky 1992, p 36), most probably in the region *"*north of the Black Sea in what is today known as the Ukraine*"* (Budianski 1992, p 38). Caras (1996) similarly gives primacy to human control in the domestication of the horse in Europe, questioning whether horses would have survived as a species without human intervention. However, it may well be that, "mankind didn't intentionally domesticate the horse; rather, the species may have chosen to associate with members of early agricultural settlements and eventually lured some of these people into a nomadic lifestyle influenced as much by horse behaviour as human behaviour*"* (Kohanov 2001, p xxii).

1.4. Horses as power and transport

Exactly when and where the horse transitioned in human experience from being a food source to its crucial role in transporting people and goods and powering machinery remains controversial (Drews 2004; Kelenka 2009). There is, however, consensus that the initial site of the transition from using horses as food to using them for transport, was the broad area of the Eurasian steppes between the Black and Caspian Seas.

The earliest horse riding would have facilitated a broader exploration of the environment, the ability to manage more livestock than when on foot and to widen seasonal availability of diverse pastures. Using horses, humans could not only travel for the first time well above their own pedestrian speed, they could travel increased distances and trade in goods with other cultures. Horse-based transport enabled entirely new social practices and structures.

Riding horses and the use of horses for transport facilitated exchanges over topographically, ecologically, culturally, politically diverse landscapes and large geographic areas, including, eventually, the longest network of Eurasian overland trade routes, known as the Silk Road (Christian 2000; Warmuth *et al.* 2012). As a consequence, people and goods, languages, information, ideas and religions could circulate faster over greater distances. It has been claimed that horses were instrumental in the massive and rapid migration of steppe herders that spread Indo-European languages across Eurasia and influenced the genetic pool of Europeans today (Orlando 2015; Warmuth *et al.* 2012). It is arguable that the modern-day geography of Indo-European languages can be linked to the domestication of the horse, the invention of horseback riding and spoked wheels in these steppe cultures (Anthony 2007).

The transition from eating horses to using them for riding and harnessing their power to pull vehicles required the human invention of new devices of control. A horse could not be effectively controlled by a human using a nose ring like that used to control the slower-moving and more docile ox. Human control of horses was enabled by the bit, a device that places pressure on the tongue, lips, palate or the bars of the mouth. Despite newer materials and the improved understanding of horses' behaviours and anatomy, equine fashions and tradition, bits remain largely unchanged from their original invention around 5,000 years ago (Kelenka 2009).

The Sredni Stog culture, located between the Dnieper and Volga Rivers, may have domesticated horses, including for the purposes of transport, although this has been contested by others (Benecke 1998; Hausler 2000; Levine 1990). At the Derievka archaeological site, around 61% of the bones found were from horses, and the preponderance of young adult and juvenile males has been interpreted to be indicative of culled slaughter in a managed herd (Anthony 1991 a, b, 1986; Bibikova 1986). The variability in robustness of Derievka's horse bones is also suggestive of human selective breeding of horses for desired physical traits (Anthony 1986). This culture was characterised by having relatively larger settlements and households than their predecessors, and trading widely with copper ornaments from this site originating more than 1,500 km away. Trading goods over distances of 1,500 km indicates a highly mobile culture dependent on transport and, by implication, a culture that rode horses, a speculation supported by evidence of wear on some horse teeth consistent with the use of a bit (Anthony 1986).

The 5,000-year-old Bottai culture of the steppes of northern Kazakhstan was a 'horse centric' culture where horses and humans closely co-existed and horses had symbolic meaning, as well as pragmatic uses (Olsen 1989, 2003; Olsen, Grant, Choyke and Bartosiewicz; 2006; Zaibert 1993). At Bottai, the horse is conspicuously represented in ceremonial observances of ritual sacrifice with human skeletons surrounded by horses with elaborately-inscribed horse phalanges, and intramural horse head burials beneath houses (Anthony and Brown 2003). Ritually-carved horse bones and horse artefacts were found in prestigious graves, including carved figurines, horse head effigy maces and sceptres. Burying horses as part of the ritual of human burial indicates the high value placed on horses in such cultures. Horses ritually interred in human graves have been found as far east as Ireland and as far west as China. Given the likely economic value of horses and the public display of sacrifice, horse burials could not have solely been for religious reasons and may also have had important social implications, such as displays of wealth and power, even in death. Horse funerary rituals continue in many cultures. For example, the funerary ritual of the American President, Ronald Reagan, included a caisson of six harnessed black horses followed by a saddled riderless horse, boots facing backwards in the stirrups, symbolizing the fallen president. Also, at Arlington National Cemetery, "a caparisoned riderless horse" attends the burial of every American officer above the rank of colonel, who has been killed in conflict (Kelenka 2009, p 403).

Based on patterns of tooth wear consistent with those caused by using a bit, at least some Bottai horses were likely bridled and perhaps ridden for hundreds of hours (Anthony, Brown and George 2006; Brown and Anthony 1998; Outram *et al.* 2009). Large piles of manure at the larger permanent Bottai settlements suggest the possible use of horse dung as insulating material in house construction (Gardiner *et al.* 2008), and a pattern of post holes for a circular fence with substantial quantities of manure is suggestive of a corral (Olsen *et al.* 2006). Domesticated horses assured a more stable source of meat, as well as a source of milk, as residues of mares' milk have been found in pottery vessels from Bottai (Outram *et al.* 2009). This overall evidence is strongly supportive of early horse herding and domestication and, most probably, horse riding (Olsen *et al.* 2006).

1.5. Changing societies

By around 2,300 BC, efficient horse transportation was well established and wheeled transport had reached as far as China (Drews 2004; Kuzmina and Mair 2008; Sarianidi 1995).

Long-distance horse-based trade also enabled advances in metallurgy and mechanical innovation that further improved transportation. A new form of lighter wheel and axle that was required for horse-drawn vehicles first appeared around 2,000 BC. Spoked wheels could not be produced using stone or flint pieces and sophisticated new metal tools, shaft-hole axes, adze blades with asymmetric cutting edges, chisels and gouges were required to produce the tripartite wheel (Piggot 1983, 1992). A new vehicle, the chariot, designed entirely for speed and manoeuvrability in war, hunting or ceremonies also appeared with the development of spoked wheels (Anthony 2007). The chariot introduced cavalry warfare, a lethal style of fighting that had never been seen before (Anthony 2007).

Most likely invented by nomadic steppe cultures, the chariot combined the light spoked wheel, trained horses and the composite bow to create a high-speed mobile-firing platform for archers. Chariot technologies subsequently diffused across Asia and Europe, to as far west as Britain, south to India and east to China. Maintaining a chariot for war or as a prestige vehicle required wealth, as the chariot was unsuited for anything except battle or display. Chariot horses required lengthy training, drivers and spare horse teams. Although militarily important for around 1,000 years, the chariot was replaced in warfare by another horse-related technology, which was ridden cavalry, around 100 AD (Noble 2015). Nevertheless, the chariot continued to be prominent for another 400 years in the form of the sport and recreation of chariot racing. Roman society was obsessed with chariot racing and it attracted large crowds, intense rivalry and team support (Chamberlin 2006).

Further invention resulted from the use of the horse for riding over long distances. The saddle, without stirrups, appeared in the archaeological record at about 700 BC in Assyrian paintings. The first saddle that distributed weight on either side of the horse's spine through a solid saddle tree, was invented in around 200 BC in China (Kelenka 2009) and enabled the attachment of the rigid stirrup. Despite its small size, the stirrup greatly increased a rider's ability to control a horse; rigid stirrups increased security in the saddle, reduced rider fatigue and allowed for a wider range of riding styles that suited both heavily-armed and lightly-armed cavalry (Chamberlin 2006). By the 5th century AD, China had manufactured the cast-iron stirrup that permitted a heavily armoured rider to mount a bigger horse (Kelenka 2009). The stirrup fundamentally altered the basic tactics of mounted warfare. The additional lateral support provided by the iron stirrup facilitated the development of the lance and sabre, employing the weight and momentum of horse and rider from horseback and also increased

the riders' stability and lethality with bow and arrow (Littauer 2002). White (1962) regarded the stirrup as a simple invention with a 'catalytic influence' on history and a revolutionary step in warfare. Transferred from the Indian subcontinent to Europe during the start of the Middle Ages, the stirrup allowed military action with heavy cavalry and eventually made possible the rise of the Medieval European knight with couched lance, a key element of the feudal social order (White 1962). During the medieval period, knights formed the elite of society and a knight's reputation, success and wealth were determined by his equestrian and military skills. By the 12th century, a knight had to be a nobleman, and all noblemen were expected to be knights. The term, chivalry, describing a knight's cultural and societal values of virtue and honour, was derived from the word, *cheval*, which is French for horse. To be chivalrous literally meant to behave as a horseman, which is to say, to be a knight.

Using horses for power, in the form of draught, led to innovation and fundamental changes to agricultural practices, as well as society. The padded horse collar was invented around 1,500 years ago in China. This collar enabled the use of horses for draught and ploughing, replacing the powerful, but slower, oxen. Later, the invention of the 'whippletree', a piece of wood placed behind a horse and attached to a cart or plough, enabled the use of multiple horses for draught (Needham 1965). As these new technologies diffused eastward towards Europe in the medieval period, they changed the nature of European agriculture and society. Using this new soft collar, the horse delivered around 50% more traction than the ox and was capable of working two hours longer per day. The versatile draught horse could be used for harrowing, ploughing, hauling, riding or pack work and horses gradually replaced oxen in such tasks. Agricultural efficiency increased, cutting labour costs and setting higher levels of soil preparation, which eventually leading to greater regional specialisation in the pastoral sector and was a catalyst for the development of intensive mixed farming (Campbell 2007). This increased use of the horse in agriculture had social repercussions. Peasants began to aggregate in larger towns and villages, as faster equine transport allowed them to travel further, hauling ploughs to their fields each day and reaching areas not previously cultivated (White 1962). As the horse gradually replaced the ox, the peasantry could engage in full-scale, efficient farming (Langdon 1986).

The greatest benefit from the wider use of horses was speed of transportation and, by the end of the 13th century, horses were responsible for more than 75% of haulage in Europe (Langdon 1986). Harnessing horse power for haulage enabled the exchange of goods over

longer distances; for example, in Champagne in France, European textiles from England and France were exchanged for silk and spices from the Far East (Gies and Gies 1972). Horse-drawn vehicles featured prominently in urban communities; the faster speed of horse-drawn vehicles, compared to ox-drawn, meant goods could quickly reach markets, and this facilitated rapid circulation of gold and silver coins (Langdon 1986). Therefore, the use of the more efficient draught horse and associated advances in agriculture helped break down the rigid confines of the landlord system and, eventually, the feudal system (Robinson 2002).

The social changes that occurred as agriculture became horse-based led to an increased availability of horses for townspeople. England had a large horse population, an established horse breeding industry and also exported horses. Horses were owned and used by civilians to pull carts and wagons and as packhorses to move goods around the country. Breeding, buying and selling horses had become economic activities in their own right. By the 13th century, riding a horse was not restricted to the elite. Owning and riding a horse was a conspicuous display of wealth, as well as status, increasingly available to the upper middle class as well as to the elite in early premodern England. By the start of the 100 Years' War in 1337, the nexus between the horse, the knight and the nobility was diminishing, as new battlefield technologies, such as gunpowder, artillery and the longbow, rendered the medieval heavy cavalryman obsolete (Raber and Tucker 2005). In 1413, knights comprised only a small percentage of Henry V's army. By 1415, the Duke of Gloucester could only raise six knights and 50 squires for Henry's army. By the end of the Hundred Years' War (1433), the infantry took over the duty of the direct charge, replacing cavalry (Vale 1981). By that time, armies were largely composed of professional troops, and changes to weapons and the composition of the army itself had fundamentally changed the association between mounted nobility and cavalry.

The continuing social diffusion of horses as mainstream forms of power and transport for the social masses contributed to continuing changes in the composition of armies and military tactics. During the English Civil War (1642), merchants, tradesmen and yeomen all contributed horses in response to parliament's 'propositions' and, by 1643, nearly 4,000 horses were obtained for the parliamentary army. Tradesmen contributed 29% of these horses and yeomen 11%. Fewer than 2% were obtained from gentlemen or members of parliament (Kelenka 2009; Vale 1981). Cavalry now rode smaller and cheaper horses and the nexus between the elite warhorse and the knight in battle was broken.

1.6. Changing values

By the start of the sixteenth century, the human-horse relationship was fundamentally transformed from its utilitarian origins. While horses may have originally been a convenient food source for early hunters, the human-horse relationship became ever-more complex and value-laden. The diffusion of horse transport and horse-driven technological innovation not only transformed agriculture, settlement and commerce, but also the ways in which humans valued horses. By the sixteenth century, European societies depended on horses. Horses were draught animals, pulling ploughs, wagons and coaches, transporting goods for trade and consumption and carrying riders for both leisure and travel. Although cavalry still remained important in military contexts, the role of the horse in combat had been redefined.

By the end of the sixteenth century, amongst the population at large, the social division between horse owners and non-horse owners was marked. Horses retained symbolic value as markers of wealth and prestige. Social status was linked to horses through appearance, using horses for work or leisure, or even how horses were presented and trained. Leisure horses imbued people with higher status and were a symbol of wealth and "alone amongst working animals (with the possible exception of hounds), horses were not judged solely by practical considerations. Possession conferred status and, as a result, horses were imbued with an iconic significance" (Edwards and Graham 2012, p 5). Thus, horses retained a symbolic function as a conspicuous display of wealth, setting the elite that continued to use horses apart through "privileged activities, equestrian portraits, jousting, riding in the manege (or indoor riding school), hunting, racing, importing eastern horses and eventually the breeding of thoroughbred race horses" (Robinson 2002, p 374).

The late-seventeenth century was also the period of the rise of modern nationalism and the nation-state. The horse was implicated in the emergence of national identities. Horses enabled extended travel and thus, people could identify with a wider geographical area and encounter different societies and ideas, which therefore reflected back on their own identities. Differences between church and state, Protestant and Catholic, Royalist and Republican, became bitterly contested. Nash (2013) associates racehorses and English horse racing with rebellion, popular and secular politics, treason and religious tensions. Race meetings promoted drinking and gambling, and brought together large and partisan crowds. Cromwell so disapproved of early horse racing, and its potential for breeding subversion and poor behaviours, that he banned it. The Duke of Monmouth, the illegitimate son of Charles II, used

race meetings as, essentially, cover for rehearsals for the unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Charles in the 'Rye House plot' of 1685 (Nash 2013). By the late seventeenth century, the competition for breeding and possession of better racehorses became even more entangled with politics. In 1695, parliament passed an act forbidding Catholics from owning horses valued at more than £5 pounds. Protestants could compel a Catholic to sell any horse for £5 and 5s, thereby exacerbating the religious tensions in horse breeding areas, such as Yorkshire (Nash 2013; Cassidy a 2007).

In the next chapter, I narrow the focus to the coevolution of horse racing, particularly in the form of thoroughbred racing. This history has been intertwined since the beginning in the way in which humans relate to and value horses and changing values. This therefore provides an opportunity to examine how human culture, politics, nationalism, mercantilism, wealth and associated symbolic notions of elitism, courage and nobility have contributed over the past 300 years to fashion a horse, the thoroughbred, for the sole purposes of human entertainment.

Chapter 2: The history of horse racing

2.1. Introduction

Chapter 1 focussed primarily on the many pragmatic uses that horses have served in human society. However, since the earliest days of domestication, humans have utilised horses for human entertainment, particularly in the form of horse racing. In this chapter, I introduce horse racing and the thoroughbred horse, which has been bred by humans for over 300 years for its speed and endurance. For the past 300 years, the thoroughbred horse and horse racing have been intertwined in human culture, politics, nationalism and identity.

2.2. Ancient horse sport

Horse racing dates back at least to the Iron-Age Scythian steppe cultures of around 800 BC (Olsen *et al.*, 2006; Olsen 1996 b, 2003). The Scythian equestrian games described by the Greek writers Herodotus and Strabo were apparently conducted at a full gallop (Olsen 1996). Their legacy remains today in the modern central Asian horse sport called 'buzkashi'. Greek artefacts, such as vases, depict Greek chariot racing at the first Olympiad (in 776 BC), including chariot races in specifically constructed hippodromes (Carter 2013). For the classical Greeks, participating in chariot racing at the Olympic Games was a method in which to display wealth and increase social standing (Kyle 2014). The Greek cavalry general and knight, Xenophon, wrote two military treatises on training and riding cavalry horses that included instructions on cross-country riding and jumping natural obstacles, although there is no evidence that the Greeks held official jumping competitions or jumps races. Importantly, Xenophon's writings also emphasise the humane treatment of horses, including reward and utilising their 'natural' behaviours during cavalry training (Chamberlin 2006).

Horse racing, especially chariot racing, was enormously popular in the ancient Roman society. Every main city had a specially-built circus or racecourse (Anthony and Brown 2003). For the Romans, chariot racing combined sport, spectacle, festival and politics, as the rivalry and popular support for successful chariot teams transformed eventually into political factionalism. Betting was widespread and attracted large crowds. Chariot horses could become crowd celebrities and the Romans maintained detailed records of the names, breeds and pedigrees of famous chariot horses. Although the life of a chariot horse was generally short, the 'Theodosian Code' established that the state should pay for food for those horses weakened from chariot racing (Carter 2013). The last recorded chariot race in Rome took

place in the Circus Maximus in 549 AD (Balsdon 2002) and Constantinople's hippodrome remained in use until around the 12th century. The Romans exported their passion for horse racing across the empire, and the earliest known race track in England was commissioned by the Roman Emperor, Lucius Septimus Servius around 208 AD, near Wetherby in Yorkshire (Olsen 2003).

2.3. The British origins of modern racing

Today, ridden horse racing commonly involves a competition of speed over distance, usually on flat ground and around an enclosed circular racecourse. In this section, I address the history of modern English horse racing, which begins around the start of the sixteenth century and which subsequently spread quickly across the world, particularly in the nineteenth century, and became a model followed across the globe and the centre of a global industry (McManus, Albrecht and Graham 2013; Vamplew 2013). A timeline of key events is in the history of English horse racing is presented at Figure 2.1.

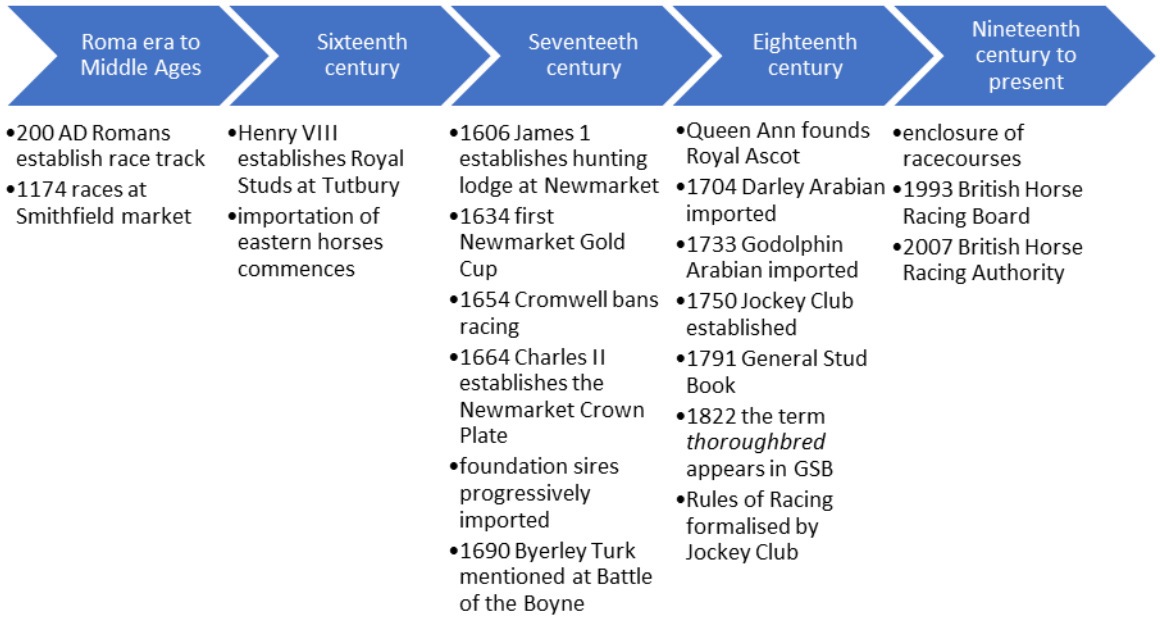

Figure 2-1:Key events associated with the origins of English horseracing

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, British rural society devoted special attention to leisure in the form of fairs and feast days that were often sponsored by the local elite, and regarded as occasions for promoting the wellbeing of the community. Across England, local towns or wealthy families, including those at Croydon, Hampton, Carlisle and Salisbury, established horse races as part of such fairs (Carter 2013). The drinking and gambling

associated with these events was just as important for the crowds as the horse racing itself, along with cock fighting, dog fighting and other activities. Horse breeding and racing were centred in Yorkshire, in a cluster of families within a small geographical area known as the Vale of York. Although records are somewhat obscure with respect to ownership, trading and the identity of individual horses, it is likely that horses called Arabian, Barb and Turk(oman) were used by early English racehorse breeders, along with an English breed known as 'hobbies' (Nash 2013).

Modern horse racing has evolved from a complex and turbulent mix of politics, rebellions, diplomacy, allies and kinship, and its origins are usually traced to two events that, according to Cassidy (2007), are often conflated. The first was the inception of the Newmarket Royal Plates in 1665 under Charles II and the second, the use of thoroughbred horses. The Newmarket Town Plate is regarded as the predecessor of modern flat racing because it had rules and more than two runners. When Charles II introduced the Newmarket Town Plate for 100 guineas prize money, he declared the race was to be run forever (Vamplew 2016; Vamplew and Kay b, 2005).

Until the late eighteenth century, the majority of horse races were 'match races', run usually between two horses over long distances of at least three or four miles in a series of heats. In conspicuous displays of wealth, extraordinary sums of money were wagered on match races. Cassidy (2013, p 3) cites an amount of 1,100 guineas bet in a single day in 1720. And when Charles II's horse, 'Herod', matched the Duke of Grafton's horse over four miles at Newmarket in 1764, the prize was £1,000 with side bets of more than £100,000 (Cassidy 2007). Match races could settle disputes between individuals, regions or even countries (Cassidy 2007). By the early eighteenth century, some races were shorter and around two to three miles. This led to the introduction of races for several horses in which the winner took all the prize money, which became the prototype for the nineteenth century sweepstakes. The first such race was run in 1709 for £200 'contribution money'. In 1740, parliament passed a law forbidding match racing and established a lower limit prize of £50 (Cassidy 2013). This act also established standard weights for age, limited owners to a single horse in a race and stated all races should be completed in one day. Although not universally adopted, it marked the beginning of the reduction in importance of local race meetings and the increased dominance of regional racing centres. Vamplew and Kay (2005, b) regard this imposition of

standardised racing regulation by parliament as the commencement of the transition of horse racing from a local entertainment to a national sport.

By the early nineteenth century, Newmarket held around seven race meetings a year, in contrast to the rest of the country where there were no more than two. Most locations still only held one race a year as part of an annual fair (Cassidy 2007). As a consequence, Newmarket attracted racing stables and studs and became a new centre for racing and the breeding of racehorses. From the early nineteenth century, Newmarket racing gave substantial employment to a majority of top southern trainers and jockeys and offered regular high value prize money to many owners. By the late nineteenth century, around 2,000 horses trained daily at Newmarket (Huggins 2014).

The Jockey Club, founded in 1750, is perhaps *"*horse racing's most important single body since the eighteenth century, a particularly select, self-elected, aristocratic and private club" (Huggins 2014, p 175). At that time, the word, jockey, referred to people with an interest in horses, and the club was an association of like-minded owners and breeders, rather than riders. The records of the Jockey Club do not reveal its original purpose or an intent to regulate or control racing. The original power of the Jockey Club lay in its regulatory authority at Newmarket, setting a tax on horses using Jockey Club training grounds and requiring trainers to be licensed. Under Lord Bentinck and, later, Admiral Rous, the Jockey Club introduced rules of racing, the weighing of jockeys, a standard birthdate for all thoroughbreds and 'weight for age' scales. The Jockey Club was a *"*critical definer of reality for many owners and employees, even those not directly associated with it*"* (Huggins 2014, p 176). By the late nineteenth century, to hold a race meeting not recognised by the Jockey Club was *"*tantamount to being cast into the racing wilderness" (Vamplew and Kay 2005 a, p 172). By 1900, the Jockey Club controlled all United Kingdom flat racing. Membership of the Jockey Club remains internally elected, male-dominated and aristocratic. In 2016, of the members listed in the Jockey Club's Annual Report, 89% were male and 44 % were titled. Honorary members included five British royals, four sheiks and military members (The Jockey Club 2016).

2.4. The thoroughbred racehorse arrives

Horse racing is today intimately associated with a specific breed of horse, the thoroughbred, bred by humans for the single characteristic of speed. This animal is not only distinguished

by a human quest for speed, but by the elaborate set of social institutions that have surrounded the thoroughbred horse. Central to these institutions is the General Stud Book (GSB), first published in 1791 by James Weatherby. The original idea of the GSB was for it to be descriptive, rather than prescriptive, detailing the breeding records of horses then racing in England. In this way, the GSB addressed two problems that bedevilled eighteenth century racing; passing off horses of supposedly 'fashionable' pedigrees and the pretence that horses were badly bred when negotiating the terms of match races in order to misrepresent their chances of winning and therefore manipulate the betting on such races (Nash 2005; Vamplew and Kay 2005 b). The original GSB was gynocentric and listed mares in alphabetical order, with as much of their pedigree as possible and then the progeny of each mare (Nash 2005). The original GSB identifies 387 mares and their progeny, dating back to 1712, and the appendix also lists 22 imported Arabian, Turkish and Barb stallions.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there was significant trade in horses between England and North Africa. Between 1650 and 1750, more than 200 horses designated as Eastern or Oriental were imported to England. Regardless of their origin, they were named Arabians, Turkish or Barbs, the terms used to describe oriental horses of superior breeding. This British importation of Eastern equine bloodstock between 1650 and 1750 was an important material and economic, as well as, symbolic and cultural phenomena (Landry 2008). These horses first served as a means of diplomatic exchange and, later, became a form of commodity exchange between English merchant families. When Henry VIII founded the Royal Stud at Tutbury, it is most likely that his horses included some with Eastern blood, directly or indirectly mediated through other European imports. Henry VIII sent his representatives to Europe to purchase horses to replace the weight-carrying heavy horses of the armoured knight with smaller, faster and more agile horses. Henry VIII also imported foreign equestrian techniques in the form of the forward-riding seat or the 'Turk seat' with shorter stirrups. According to Landry (2008), this new style of riding, the 'English hunting seat', established a sense of cultural identity that distinguished the British from other Europeans.

During the eighteenth century, the populations of the British Isles developed a collective sense of national identity, rather than separate English, Irish, Scottish or Welsh identity. This collective identity largely developed through the consciousness of shared differences from the French or other Europeans (Colley 2005). 'Englishness' came to dominate this internal

colonialism (Landry 2008). This new national identity was paralleled by a change in British horse culture. Within one generation, the progeny of three Eastern horse imports were described as 'English Thoroughbreds'. Landry (2008) claims that the 'English Thoroughbred' and the 'English hunting seat' came to signify the difference between Britain and Europe, such that *"*Equestrian culture and its offshoots, the sporting culture of hunting and racing, the artistic culture of equine portraiture and sporting art, served imaginatively to express Britain's 'gentlemanly capitalist' vision of mercantilism during the nations rise to global economic importance between the late sixteenth and mid-nineteenth Centuries" *(*2008, p 3). The history of the thoroughbred horse and the rise of English racing demonstrate many of the complexities and contradictions inherent to human-horse relationships. The origins of the breed are entwined with concepts of local and national identity, entangling the identity of the thoroughbred with political power and the elite status of those associated with early horse racing and breeding. This story, therefore, provides insight into how humans represent and value horses and how such values have changed and continue to change over time.

By the end of the eighteenth century, every horse racing at that time could be traced back patrilineally to three 'foundation' sires: the Byerly Turk, the Darley Arabian and the Godolphin Arabian (personal notes, Newmarket Racing Museum 2015). The term, thoroughbred first appears in the 1822 edition of the GSB. The popular story of the Byerly (or Byerley) Turk, speculates that he was captured at the siege of Buda from the Turks as a spoil of war and became Captain Robert Byerly's charger at the Battle of the Boyne in Ireland in 1690. No record exists of Byerly serving at the siege of Buda (Nash 2013). In a revisionist and plausible counter-narrative, Nash (2012) argued that the Byerly Turk was more likely bred in England and acquired through Byerly's marriage to Mary Wharton, daughter of Sir Thomas Wharton, one of the most active early racing enthusiasts and horse breeders. This narrative draws together the overlap of the cultural power of the thoroughbred and the political power of those associated with early thoroughbred racing. It was Wharton who provided Monmouth with the horse (the Wharton gelding) that he popularly raced throughout England at a time when public demonstrations of political allegiance were signalled by racehorse ownership and livery (Nash 2012). In a demonstration of the political and religious complexities of that time, both the Wharton and Byerly families possessed a strong royalist commitment with an equally strong protestant commitment. Byerly later participated in the military defeat of Monmouth and Wharton took up a prominent leadership position in the Whig party. Within this alternative narrative, the thoroughbred is therefore

relocated, not to an overseas origin, but to a context of internal rebellion and the manoeuvres of an emergent modern political state.

The Darley Arabian arrived in England in 1704. The English merchant, Thomas Darley, smuggled the horse out of Syria to England as a gift to his father (Cassidy 2013). The Darley Arabian's most famous descendant was his great, great grandson, Eclipse, who is known as a 'conduit stallion' because "more than 90% of the world's thoroughbreds today trace back to the Darley Arabian along the sire line" (Nash 2013, p 22). Although ownership of a thoroughbred racehorse in the early eighteenth century was generally a symbol of aristocratic status, power and influence, this was not universal. During his racing career, Eclipse was owned by Colonel Dennis O'Kelly, an Irishman of modest background and a heavy gambler. Thus commerce, opportunity and entrepreneurship are also an important part of the history of the thoroughbred, not just royal patronage and inherited advantage (Cassidy 2013).

The Godolphin Arabian, the last of the foundation stallions, was exported via Syria to Tunis as one of four horses presented by the Bey of Tunis to the King of France. He was most likely acquired by Edward Coke via the French Court (Nash 2013). When Coke died in August of 1733, the horse was sold to Francis, the second Earl of Godolphin, in England, and became known as the Godolphin Arabian. Eyewitness accounts described this horse as "beautiful, exquisitely proportioned, with legs of iron…whose only flaw was being headstrong" (Osmer 1756, p 273). The conformation of the Godolphin Arabian was important as he contributed to the thoroughbred breed a combination of sloping shoulders, short back and powerful loins which, by inference, means larger lungs and aerobic capacity. This resulted in a greater shoulder extension at the gallop, longer strides and, therefore, faster speeds (Bennet 2013).

The exact breeding and origin of the Godolphin Arabian has attracted conjecture and he is at the centre of one of horse racing's best known 'love stories', and is a part of thoroughbred racing's legends. In the first volume of the GSB (1793), James Weatherby describes the Godolphin Arabian as a teaser to Hobgoblin for several years. A teaser is an entire horse, but not a stallion, and his role is to ensure that the mare is ready to breed with the stallion. When Hobgoblin refused to mate with Roxana, she was subsequently bred to the Godolphin Arabian and produced 'Lath', who later became one of the most successful racehorses of his time. In the 1803 GSB, Weatherby adds a reference to the Godolphin Arabian having once pulled a water cart in the streets of Paris. Nash (2005) regards this story as a mixture of

fantasy and potency, national identity and the transgression of class boundaries. There is no record of the Godolphin Arabian having ever raced and there are no details of his pedigree. Despite this, he sired about 80 foals in a career lasting 22 years, augmenting the speed of the thoroughbred and passing on his conformation and temperament to the entire thoroughbred breed (Mackay-Smith 2000).

2.5. Introducing jumps racing

Contemporary thoroughbred racing is mainly focussed on running around a level circular racetrack called flat racing. However thoroughbred racing also includes jumps racing, a form of racing in which horses are required to jump obstacles. Jumps racing has two main sub-disciplines, known as steeplechases and hurdles. A third form, 'point-to-point' racing, is essentially a steeplechase for amateur riders.

Steeplechases

Steeplechasing is believed to have originated in Ireland, and is derived from the hunting field (Munting 1987). The earliest origins of steeplechasing are the Irish 'pounding matches' of the late seventeenth century, in which horses were ridden across the country until the loser was 'pounded into the ground' by being outlasted by the winner, or fell. These horses were typically heavy and could handle rough ground and stay longer distances, as well as jump natural obstacles (Munting 1987). According to Hinds (2013), steeplechasing was for people *"*who rode around the country as if they owned it, which they effectively did*"* (Hinds 2013, p 114). Here, he was reflecting its association with fox hunting, privilege, status and wealth. The hunting of foxes on horseback with hounds was popularised under Charles II, when the enclosure of much farmland and forest by the Enclosure Acts of the early eighteenth century led to a decrease in deer hunting (Birley 1993). Instead, the aristocracy turned to chasing foxes on horseback across enclosed fields and jumping across hedges and walls during the pursuit. Horses that could run fast and jump became fashionable, and thoroughbred horses were increasingly crossed with other horse breeds to serve as 'hunter' sires (Munting 1987). In 1668, George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham, established the first private pack of foxhounds and hunting thereafter became associated with the elite and the wealthy, a status symbol requiring wealth and leisure time.

The first steeplechase race, between the parish churches of Buttevant and Doneraile in Cork, was a two-horse competition in 1752, involving Edmund Blake and Cornelius O'Callaghan, over a distance of around five miles (Holland 2001; McManus Albrecht and Graham 2013; Myers 2006). These early matches from 'point-to-point' did not have a set course, and the rider was free to select a course to the winning post, although later, flags were used to mark the course to be followed (Thoroughbred Heritage 2016). In 1810, a steeplechase for *bona fide* hunting horses was held over a specially designed three-mile course at Bedford (Vamplew and Kay, 2005 b). The first commercial jump race was run in 1830 when Thomas Coleman of the Turf Hotel, St Albans, established the St Albans or Hertfordshire steeplechase over four miles carrying jockeys who had to weigh at least 12 stone. The imposition of heavy weights reflected the requirement that these horses should be capable of carrying gentleman in the hunting field. By the mid-nineteenth century, over 60 steeplechase meetings were recorded from Chatham to Cheltenham (Hinds 2013; Vamplew and Kay, 2005 b).

The early years of steeplechase racing were marked by notoriety and 'shamateurism' and the sorts of carnivalesque activities that distinguished seventeenth century flat racing, including cock fighting, drunkenness, prostitution, illegal gambling and brawling crowds (Davies 2006; Vamplew and Kay 2005 b). Steeplechase racing remained outside of the regulatory reach of the Jockey Club until 1865. In 1865, the Jockey Club established the National Hunt Committee to regulate steeplechasing and better control crowd behaviours, by enclosing steeplechase courses within racecourses, and limiting entry to courses with turnstiles and entry fees. The first enclosed racecourse was at Sandown, followed by Cheltenham (Cassidy a, 2007; Nash 2013; Vamplew and Kay b, 2005). During the nineteenth century, steeplechasing became increasingly commercial and professional and, from 1873, all jockeys competing in open events had to be licensed by the Jockey Club (Vamplew and Kay, 2005 b). However, amateur riders could still compete, as long as they were licensed by the Jockey Club. In 1870, at least 60 amateur riders took part in open races against professionals (Vamplew and Kay, 2005 b).

Hunt racing and, in particular, steeplechase racing, had a distinctive amateur ethos, where participation itself was the object and no cognisance was taken of the need to entertain spectators. Steeplechase riding demanded courage of a special kind closely associated with the military, and military race meetings featured in the National Hunt social and racing

calendar (Vamplew and Kay b,2005). Often these meetings had courses deliberately more severe than conventional steeplechases. It was the military who provided an influx of skills and courage to the ranks of the amateur horsemen of steeplechasing and the *"*courage, presence of mind and skill in horsemanship without which their glorious achievements at Balaclava and Inkermann would never have been recorded*"* (Seth-Smith *et al.* 1966, p 42). Hunt races hosted by hunt and racing clubs were restricted to amateur gentleman riders, usually socially defined, but often with the addition of residential, occupational or hunting qualifications (Vamplew and Kay, 2005 b). The category, 'gentleman rider', in national hunt racing had a complex and exhaustive definition, designed to exclude persons of inferior social status. The National Hunt Committee regulatory code recognised an amateur gentleman rider as belonging to "one of a select list of clubs, an officer of either service on full pay, a magistrate, a peer, or an individual with a courtesy title. Persons of lower social standing could be balloted in, but they had to be nominated by men holding the club or commission qualification*"* (Vamplew and Kay 2005 b, p 4). In 1883, the list of approved occupations was extended and (wealthier) farmers and their sons, with a minimum of 100 acres, became eligible. By 1912, only 62 gentleman riders remained licensed by the Jockey Club (Vamplew and Kay 2005 b). In 1919, Harry Brown won the National Hunt jockey's title, the last amateur gentleman rider to do so.

Point-to-point racing

Point-to-point racing began around 1880 and, unlike steeplechase races, was conducted across four miles of open country. The aim was to get to the finish line as fast as possible and the route was left to each rider. These races were designed specifically for horses that had hunted and were ridden by amateurs. In 1913, the Master of Hounds Point-to-Point Association was established to govern the meetings and, in 1937, the point-to-points were brought under the National Hunt Committee, which did not permit professionals to ride in these races (Vamplew 2016).

Hurdle racing

A hurdle race involves horses jumping over obstacles, called hurdles that are lower than those used in steeplechases. Consequently, hurdle races tend to be run at a faster pace than steeplechases. The Prince of Wales is credited with the origin of hurdle racing when, in 1808,

he and his soldiers raced over sheep hurdles near Brighton (Munting 1987). The first hurdle race is thought to have taken place at Durdham Down, near Bristol, in 1821 and, by the mid-nineteenth century, hurdle races were regular features at most race meetings (Vamplew and Kay, 2005 b). By 1882, hurdle races were regulated by the Jockey Club and had to be at least 3 kilometres in distance, and the hurdles a minimum of 1 metre high.

Jumps racing today

In the twenty first century, jumps racing continues in 18 countries and four continents. Apart from England and Ireland, jumps racing comprises only a small part of overall thoroughbred racing. However, modern jumps racing has become embroiled in controversy about the welfare of both jockeys and horses, reflecting the inherent risks of injury or death associated with racing longer distances and jumping obstacles at speed. The broader public has become engaged in this polarised debate facilitated by widely distributed images and reports of horse injuries and fatalities, and the activities of animal activist and welfare organisations opposed to the activity. Advocates of jumps racing argue that horses love to race and jump and that these animals would be slaughtered if not for jumps racing. Opponents argue that horses have evolved to avoid, rather than jump obstacles, and that being injured or killed in a jumps race is not an acceptable alternative to the slaughterhouse.

Humans and horses have now shared a coevolved relationship for more than 6,000 years. The diffusion of horse transport and horse-driven technological innovation have transformed agriculture, commerce and how humans value horses, helping to shape and form human societies and culture. The phenomena of jumps racing and the contemporary debate about merits of this activity and about the welfare of jumps horses, offers insight into the broader modern societal construction of animal identities and the continuing way in which human societies construct and change their values. In the next chapter, I introduce Australian thoroughbred racing and trace the origins of the Australian debate about jumps racing, as an example of changing values towards the use of horses for human entertainment. This provides the context for my subsequent field work and analysis of the past, present and future of Australian jumps racing.

Chapter 3: Australian horse racing

3.1. The beginnings

There were no horses in Australia before the arrival of the First Fleet in 1788. The first horses landed in Australia on the first day of British colonisation at Sydney Cove, on board the 'Lady Penrhyn' on 26 January 1788, and comprised one stallion, one colt, three mares and two fillies, obtained in Cape Town, South Africa. The stallion and mares belonged to the government and the others were the personal property of the first governor of the colony, Arthur Phillip. A convict herdsman subsequently allowed these horses to escape the settlement and, by 1793, only the stallion and one mare were still alive (Pollard 1971). However, by 1798, Australia's horse population had increased to 117 horses, predominantly in government and military use in the colony of New South Wales (NSW). The demand for horses was so great that some horses were imported illegally by influential settlers, such as the pastoralist, John MacArthur, and paymaster, William Cox. By 1802, MacArthur and Cox owned approximately 20 horses each, at a time when horses were still a scarce commodity in the new colony and valued at around £90 per horse (Lang 1834). For the first few years of the settlement, this scarcity of suitable horses prevented any rapid growth of horse racing. The first thoroughbred to arrive in Australia was 'Young Rockingham' in 1797, followed by the stallion, 'Northumberland' and an English mare in 1802, and 'Washington' and 'Old Hector' in 1803. 'Shark' was imported by Governor King in 1804, specifically to improve the quality of Australian horses by cross-breeding with the earlier horse imports, thereby improving their stamina and suitability for longer-distance travel as pastoralism expanded (Brasch 2014).

Horse ownership in the early colony was a symbol of status and thoroughbred horses quickly became valued as status symbols in a society where many other traditional British symbols of status and class were not readily accessible or had little relevance (Brasch 2014). Owning a racehorse was a symbol of superior social standing and wealth. Colonial businessmen, gentlemen of fashion, landowners and sportsmen all sought to document the pedigrees of their prized thoroughbreds for breeding purposes, and often commissioned portraits from leading animal painters, such as Edward Winstanley and Joseph Fowles (State Library of NSW 2015).

From 1810, the colonial administration under Governor Lachlan Macquarie actively promoted horse racing and other sporting events (Anonymous 1810). Part of Macquarie's

metropolitan plan for Sydney included the reservation of Hyde Park as a recreational and amusement ground, and as a racecourse (Clark 1962). The building of a racecourse close to the town was deliberate. Macquarie was not attempting to promote horse racing for its own sake. In promoting these activities, Macquarie was both bringing some order to colonial recreation by confining it to specified periods, and also defining his role as governor (McLachlan 1967)[1]. In the new colony, where the climate, vegetation and geography were profoundly different from Britain, race meetings added to the aura of civilisation and preserved links to British traditions and societal structures. The governor and the wealthier settlers tried to establish themselves as colonial versions of Britain's premodern gentry and adopted the behaviours and attitudes of this group. Regularising a social and recreational program controlled by the government contributed, in part, to maintaining the social control of early colonial society. Race meetings at Hyde Park became part of a programme of annual recreation.

The first official Australian horse race meeting was held in Sydney in 1810 and attended by most of the 11,000 residents of Sydney Town, including military, government officials, convicts, ticket-of-leave holders and women. There is no evidence of betting, although it appears that in *"*the British tradition of the eighteenth century*"* (Peake 2013, p 122), sideshow activities were of more interest to the people than the racing (Freedman and Lemon 1987). This launch of Australian racing was 'lusty', with much drinking and two official balls over the three days of racing, as well as less lavish balls for the nights of each day of racing (Pollard 1971). Macquarie banned drinking on or near the racecourse and the British practice of renting out booths to grog (alcohol) sellers was not adopted, which established an early difference between Australian and British racecourses (Anonymous1810).

From this first race meeting, horse racing became a publicly prominent part of colonial life. In 1811, Macquarie declared a public holiday for all mechanics and labourers in government service, for all three days of the annual race carnival (Campbell 1811). Unofficial match races held along Parramatta Road and to Parramatta also became commonplace. These races were the province of 'gentlemen riders' and even the lieutenant governor and his wife attended

[1] A week before departure for Australia, Macquarie received confidential instructions that emphasised what was required of him as governor. "The Great Objects of attention are to improve the Morals of the Colonists, to encourage Marriage, to provide for Education, to prohibit the Use of Spirituous Liquors, to increase the Agriculture and Stock, so as to ensure the Certainty of a full supply to the Inhabitants under all Circumstances."

these match races (Anonymous 1811). In 1819, Governor Macquarie subsequently banned unauthorised race meetings, believing them to be outlets for low gambling and general misconduct, reflecting the significant amount of betting on unofficial races. Despite Macquarie's ban, unofficial road match races continued.

3.2. Establishing racing clubs

Since their inception, Australian race clubs have been politically well-connected. When Macquarie was replaced as governor in 1822, match racing rapidly became even more popular. In 1825, Macquarie's replacement as governor, Sir Thomas Brisbane, attended a five-race meeting between Bellevue Hill and Woollahra at the hub of one of the major centres of unofficial road match races. This meeting was so successful that Brisbane became the patron of Australia's first racing club, the Sydney Turf Club (STC), often referred to as the 'Australian Turf Club' or the 'Sydney Jockey Club'. Brisbane subsequently became labelled the 'Father of Australian Turf' (Freedman and Lemon 1987). By September of 1825, the club regulated how much weight each racehorse carried according to their prior race performance. This was the start of weight-based handicapping.

In 1827, Governor Darling, successor to Brisbane, formed another racing club, the Australian Racing and Jockey Club (AJC), which held its meetings at Parramatta, in competition with the STC. This new club was supported by the arrival in NSW of Henry Rous (later member of the Jockey Club and steward; see Chapter 2). Rous imported the most expensive thoroughbred to reach the colony at that time, the aptly named 'Emigrant'. In an initiative ahead of his time, Rous syndicated 'Emigrant' in a joint venture, offering shares at £16 each. Rous organised the first meeting of the AJC at Parramatta and was made a member of the club before returning to England to write the 'Laws and Practice of Horseracing', and to perfect the 'weight for age' racing scale for the Jockey Club (Freedman and Lemon 1987). By 1883, 192 country race clubs were registered to race under the AJC rules (Pollard 1971).

Horse racing spread quickly to other Australian colonies. Tasmania's first organised flat races occurred in 1814 at Newtown, near Hobart, with the first steeplechase and hurdle races beginning in 1838. Victoria's first official races were held in March of 1838, three years after the colony's founding, on an especially marked-out course at Batman's Hill in Melbourne. Flemington Racecourse opened in March of 1840. The first race in Adelaide, South Australia's capital city, was also held in 1838 when the colony had a population of

2,000, less than a year after the city was founded. Colonel Light, popularly regarded as the city's founder, and James Hurtle Fisher, first Lord Mayor of Adelaide and later, president of the Legislative Council, acted as stewards. In 1843, the year after free settlement was permitted in the colony, Queensland's first recorded race meeting was held at Cooper's Plains for the prize money of £147 (Pollard 1971). The first Western Australian race meetings were held in 1833 with Timor ponies shipped in from the island of Timor, and thoroughbred racing commenced in 1836.

3.3. The colonial economy and horse racing

In 1851, Edward Hargraves discovered a 'grain of gold' in a waterhole named Ophir, near Bathurst, NSW. His discovery and the resultant 'gold rushes' resulted in dramatic changes to the established economic and social fabric of the colonies. The first change was a large permanent addition to the population that accelerated the growth of the local market and workforce, and disturbed the social balance of the previous decades. The Australian colonial population grew rapidly from 80,000 to 250,000 in 1854 and, by 1858, to 500,000 (McCarty and Schedvin1974; Vamplew 1987). Over the same period, the Australian horse population trebled with horses required for work, transport and haulage (Brasch 2014).

The discovery of gold significantly affected horse racing. When gold was also discovered in Victoria in 1851, South Australian racing went into decline following an exodus of the population to the Victorian goldfields. Racing in NSW was also significantly altered by the gold rushes as its population left towns, like Sydney, for the Australian goldfields near Bathurst, or Victoria. Crowds became smaller and some towns abandoned their annual races. Race fields were small, there were not enough jockeys and many of the 'gentleman owners' of the 1840s had disappeared. Even the AJC was left without funds for its next meeting. It was not until 1855 that Sydney racing revived in popularity, coincidently with an increase in Sydney's population and the first train bringing passengers to a race meeting from Sydney to Parramatta. The gold rush also fuelled inflation and prize money increased from the government where they provided prizes of £100 in 1850 to nearly £2,000 in stakes money at the AJC Homebush meeting of 1857. At that meeting, for the first time, bookmakers took bets at the course, rather than the more usual practice of betting taking place away from the meeting. In 1858, the private betting club, known later as Tattersall's, was formed and, by 1860, the AJC declared that racing could not flourish without the support of betting (Freedman and Lemon 1987). In contrast to NSW, Victorian horse racing expanded during

the gold rush period. In the space of one decade, racing in Victoria rivalled and then surpassed that of NSW. In Victoria, "gentlemen set the foundations for racing, gold brought wealth and an instant population, and geography made Melbourne the central point for the Australian colonies and the centre for Australian racing in little more than twenty years" (Freedman and Lemon 1987, p 226). Almost 50 new Victorian racecourses were established, all offering good prize money, with the richest clubs located in the wealthy gold rush towns of Ballarat and Bendigo.

This gold rush period from 1860-1870 saw a dramatic increase in the numbers of people involved in horse racing, as well as the capital invested in the sport. Horse racing became increasingly professionalised, no longer merely a recreation for wealthy gentlemen owners and riders. In 1869, the Victorian Racing Club (VRC) employed a paid handicapper at an annual salary of £250, who was expected to travel to Sydney to inspect horses' racing performance to determine how much weight each would carry in a race. By 1890, standard riding fees were set for jockeys and the additional risks of jumping races were recognised by officials, such as George Watson, who gave 30% of stakes' winnings to his jumping jockeys (Freedman and Lemon 1987). Gradually, race tracks became fenced, rather than circular tracks with no boundary, and regulatory control of racing across Victoria became centralised in the VRC.

A key characteristic of nineteenth century Australian racing was the speed at which developments in British racing were implemented in Australia; for example, replacement of heat races by sweepstakes handicaps; the appearance of fully-fenced and railed racecourses; general admission charges and the establishment of differentially-priced enclosures and grandstands; the ascent of principal clubs into regulators and administrators; the creation of betting rings; the advent of taxation and legislation affecting racing (Peake 2013). Early Australian racing maintained the British tradition of the amateur gentleman rider, who rode his own horse in a race. The gentlemen "created the big race clubs, set the standards and tried (occasionally) in vain to keep the game fair" (Peake 2013, p 122*).* A gentleman rider might be an aristocrat, a country landowner, a military officer or someone who had risen to wealth in the new colonies. As in Britain, amateur riding was a significant part of thoroughbred racing. The 'meeting of gentlemen' that established the Turf Club of South Australia on 28 August 1838 included the most prominent colonists of the time and, consequently, secured government support for early prize money which enabled the building of a grandstand and the

enclosure of the home straight and track. Members of the elite colonial Melbourne Club, including Henry Gisborne, Francis Vignoles, John Wood and George Watson (also secretary of the Melbourne Hunt Club) formed the VRC from the amalgamation in 1864 of the Victoria Jockey Club and the Port Phillip Turf Club. For many of these early racing officials, "races became opportunities for displaying power and status, prestige was gained from victory and gentleman owners could also ride their own horses" (Freedman and Lemon 1987, p 126).

The nineteenth century was also characterised by intense interstate rivalry between NSW and Victoria. By 1849, interstate race competition was well established with Victorian and NSW horses competing against each other for significant stakes, including a 'one-off' match race for £1,000 in 1857. This interstate rivalry was so intense that regulations for interstate races became increasingly standardised. Organising committees were appointed well before race meetings were held, starting times for races were stated in advance, Jockey Club rules were followed, entries had to be made in advance and the colour of jockeys' silks and names also notified to officials in advance.

Despite the many similarities between British and Australian racing, Australia did not follow the British tradition of reserving particular racecourses for jumps racing. Rather, Australian jumps racing was conducted on flat racing courses adapted for that purpose. Usually a jumps track lay inside the course proper or a steeple lane left it and rejoined it in the back straight. Only a few steeplechase courses, like those at the Victorian regional towns of Warrnambool and Colac, were truly cross-country. By the early twentieth century (1906), Sydney, with a population of less than half a million, staged more race meetings (236 annually) than all of the UK, with a population of 40 million. This constant racing was another key departure from the UK model (Peake 2013). Later in the nineteenth century, the enclosed course, entry fees, the starting gate and the totaliser (the machine used for calculating betting odds, for calculating pay-off odds and displaying them, and producing tickets based on incoming bets), all made their appearance in Australian racing ahead of their British counterparts (Freedman and Lemon 1987) . The clearest break from the British racing model came with the Melbourne Cup which, within a few years of its inauguration in 1861, became acknowledged as the premier 'flat' race in Australia. Previously, major races took their titles from the English classics, even though the scarcity of high-quality thoroughbreds in the colonies forced them into handicaps, rather than events at equal weights. The Melbourne Cup openly acknowledged the Australian situation of a scarcity of high-quality thoroughbreds. The race

was run as a handicap, with better horses carrying higher weights. It attracted owners because it offered good prize money and increased betting interest with its handicap system (Freedman and Lemon 1987; Pollard 1971).

In 1879, South Australia became the first Australian colony to legalise the totaliser or 'tote' (Freedman and Lemon 1987). The aim of legalising the totaliser was to do away with bookmakers from the racecourse. Betting at the racecourse was a relatively new phenomenon. Opponents of the totaliser claimed that it *"*would force wealthy men of the turf to make their investments on the same terms as a lot of office boys and other people*"* (South Australian Parliament 1879). But by 1881, the totaliser had gained popularity and Adelaide was relatively prosperous, which meant more races, an improved standard of racing and greater public interest in the sport (Freedman and Lemon 1990). As the totaliser flourished, there was a marked increase in the number of race meetings and, with this, tote income. But the South Australian parliament was uncomfortable with the rise in betting, and particularly with rumours that even women were betting (South Australia Parliament 1882). In 1883, the parliamentary opponents of gambling prevailed and the South Australian parliament legislated to ban both bookmakers and the totaliser. Racing in South Australia was now entangled in the politics of gambling and almost came to a halt. The flow-on effects of the parliamentary ban were severe, with nearly 3,000 racehorses leaving South Australia for the eastern states, and many breeders moved their studs to Victoria. In 1885, even the Adelaide Cup, South Australia's premier race, was transferred to Flemington in Victoria. It was not until the balance of power in parliament shifted to those unopposed to gambling in 1888 that the totaliser was reintroduced and betting was again legalised. The subsequent effect on the South Australian economy was profound and estimated at about £200, 000 per year (Vamplew 1983).

3.4. Class and status

Although wealth and social position have always been integral to participation in horse racing, there is a lack of systematic scholarship on how class and status contributed to the character and nature of Australian sport, especially throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This is surprising, given that class and status divides in sport in general, and in horse racing in particular, were typically more pronounced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries than they are today (Adair 2011).

On the Australian racecourse, the model for nineteenth century social and class distinction was that of the AJC at Randwick Race Course, Sydney. In the 1890s, patrons paid one shilling for admission to the flat areas inside the course enclosed by the running rail. For an additional two shillings, spectators were admitted to the St. Ledger section on the opposite side of the course enclosed by the running rail. For a further 10 shillings, spectators were admitted to the paddock section, an area closer to the winning post, where horses could be seen before they raced and as they were being saddled. The paddock included a grandstand that gave patrons a panoramic view of the course. The prime positions were reserved for AJC members, divided by a wooden railing that protected them from being too close to the general public, and they also had an official stand that gave them the best view of the course. For an additional one guinea fee, the public could enter this area and there were further areas restricted to men only and members only. For a labourer, this amount was equivalent to about three days' pay. If money was the basis for class distinction in the Australian colonies, it was most apparent on the racecourses (Adair 2011).

Within less than a century from the first European settlement, horse racing had become a well-organised, well-regulated and highly visible sport. It was a sport where people from the full spectrum of the socio-economic scale met and participated to some degree. Regardless, class and gender differences were maintained, with the governor and his party in the grandstand insulated from those of lower social status on the flat and the hill. Ladies restricted their promenading to the area in front of the grandstand, and "while women could wager a pair of gloves with each other, it was unacceptable for them to bet with a bookmaker or wager significant sums of money – they were there as an adornment, to add elegance and respectability to what was clearly intended as male sport" (O'Hara 1994, p 96). Other class differences were apparent. Although all levels of society might meet on the course, places of refuge for the wealthy were in the stands, with entry fees ensuring, if not social homogeneity, then at least economic homogeneity. In the celebrations that followed victory, class differences were emphasised even further. The winning owner was feted, not the trainer or jockey; the winning jockey was simply an employee doing his job. Sport, in particular racing, actually heightened the class and gender distinctions and "although racing claimed to be the sport of kings and Australian racecourses welcomed the participation at all social levels, control of the sport (and most of its spoils) was held firmly in the hands of the colonial gentry*"* (O'Hara 1994, p 96).

3.5. Importing tradition and culture

The code of the English sporting gentleman, incorporating the links between horse sports, cavalry and the English gentleman rider, were recreated in Australia (Mantle 2004). If thoroughbred horses were expensive symbols of wealth in colonial Australia, so too was participation in sports, such as horse racing, hunting and polo. It was especially hunting that marked out its participants as exclusive, and the timing and location of hunts restricted attendance. Hunting helped to transplant British ideals and ideologies (Stoddart 1988). Although hunting was not amenable to total reconstruction in the English model, hunt clubs provided a sense of traditional continuity in the new environment, and the re-enactment of familiar social activities, despite an initial lack of foxes (Mantle 2004). Mid-week cross-country race meetings and hunting were organised for the leisured elite and the use of private properties enabled social vetting of both players and spectators. Hunt clubs also raced cross-country on a regular calendar basis. Hunting was a natural ally for jumps racing and some of the best of the early steeplechase horses had graduated from the hunt field. Hunt club race meetings were held at major racecourses and featured jumping races, such as steeplechases and hurdles, which gave opportunities to the gentleman riders to ride their own horses (Lemon 2013).

The close links between hunting and thoroughbred racing also provided a source of administrators for early Australian thoroughbred racing. The membership list of the Adelaide Hunt Club of the 1840s suggest that members were almost exclusively part of the Adelaide gentry (Mantle 2004). George Watson, perhaps the most influential member of the first committee of the VRC, was a racehorse owner, committee man and an official race starter. His main interest was in steeplechasing where he was an outstanding amateur rider and successful owner. In 1853, he founded the Melbourne Hunt Club and developed the best pack of hounds in the colony of Victoria, hunting red deer imported by Thomas Chirnside. The first Sydney Hunt Club races were held at Randwick in 1873 for gentleman amateur riders to compete and ride their own ‘hunter’ horses. The Sydney Hunt Club conducted hunts around Sydney and held races at Randwick over the years from 1877 to 1905, as the Sydney Amateur Turf Club, with the objective of promoting jumping races. In 1888, the Brisbane Hunt Club organised a race meeting at Eagle Farm.

Hunt club race meetings and point-to-point races flourished, especially in Victoria and South Australia, and maintained a close association with thoroughbred racing clubs. Hunt

clubs routinely held race meetings at Melbourne's metropolitan race courses on Saturdays and Wednesdays until 1930. Until 1940, each of the four extant Victorian Hunt Clubs held a metropolitan race meeting for amateur owners and riders, where horses had hunted. In 1946, the Victorian government introduced legislation that cut the Hunt Club race meetings to two metropolitan meetings per year and, by 1958, the popularity of these meetings with the public and competitors had waned to such an extent that Melbourne's Hunt Club race meetings ceased (Adams 2012).

3.6. Australian jumps racing

The first documented jumps race in Sydney was a steeplechase of five miles, cross country from Botany Bay to Coogee in 1832. The winning horse was owned by Sir Edward Deas Thompson, chair of the Executive and Legislative Council of NSW and, later, chief secretary and chairman of the AJC for 20 years (Pollard 1971). Steeplechasing quickly spread to the other colonies, beginning in Tasmania in 1838 and in Victoria in 1840 five years after the settlement of Melbourne and two decades before the Melbourne Cup (Lemon 2013). In 1846, Adelaide's first jumping race, the Grand Adelaide Steeplechase, was held at Glen Osmond and attended by large crowds, including the governor and members of the Legislative Council (Adams 2012). By the 1860s, jumps racing had spread north to Queensland and by 1873, Perth in Western Australia, with a population of only 5,000, held its first steeplechase.

Two places and two events quickly became national focal points for jumps racing. These were the annual Easter Racing Carnival, held at the township of Oakbank in the Adelaide Hills in South Australia, and the Warrnambool Racing Carnival, held annually in May in the township of Warrnambool, in the south-west of Victoria. These two locations have been of historic and symbolic importance to jumps racing from their earliest to present times.

The link between jumps racing and specific locations such as Oakbank and Warrnambool remain to this current day, as examples of what Tuan (1974) called 'topophilia'. Jumps racing is both the product of deep attachment to specific places and a source of this attachment. Tuan's concept presents a general framework for considering the different ways that humans develop a love of place, and the ways in which these affective geographical attachments are often associated with a sense of personal or social identity. Topophilia can involve human perceptions, attitudes and values, that are associated with political, economic or social environments. Topophilia also involves how people perceive and structure their worlds, and

the interactions of culture and environment, including both personal and social belief systems (Tuan 1974). The concept of topophilia has strong relevance to this present study of jumps racing, on at least two distinct scales.

First, at the scale of the nation-state, topophilia is related closely to processes of nationalism in which horses have a far from insignificant part. Mantle (2004) uses the concept of topophilia, to explain the development of affective bonds to national geographies, through the literary culture of nostalgia expressed by late eighteenth century Australian writers. Mantle associates this expressed literary nostalgia for the past with an enhanced climate of Australian nationalism and patriotism, at a time of social and technical upheaval, industrial changes, rail and road extensions, and improved communications. Jumps racing forms part of the wider relevance of horses and horse racing in the topophilia that underpins this emerging sense of Australian nationalism captured in the poetry of that time, for example, Adam Lindsay Gordon and A B Paterson (Country Arts 2014, Kramer 1972, Paterson 1917).

Second, topophilia is integral to jumps racing at the scale of specific locales in which this activity takes place. In this sense both Oakbank and Warrnambool are regarded as 'topohilic locations' of Australian jumps racing, promoting a strong sense of place and nostalgic memories of a golden age of jumps racing, representing special places as 'home grounds' of jumps racing in each state and hosting iconic jumps races. Both the Easter Oatbank Racing Carnival and the May Warrnambool Racing Carnival are special events for their local communities, generating significant revenue and attracting large numbers of visitors. Together, Oakbank and Warrnambool share many of those characteristics that Bale (1993) describes as marking sports grounds as particularly topohilic.

Special places

Oakbank is a small town in the Adelaide hills, about 30 km from the city of Adelaide, with a population around 450 people (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011). The Oakbank Race course is in the middle of the town and is picturesque. The Club maintains traditional obstacles such as live hedges, as well as a fixed 'fallen log', that are jumped in steeplechases**.** The annual Easter Racing Carnival is widely promoted as a family day and picnic race meeting**.** Family picnics on the lawns are a traditional Oakbank activity. In addition to horse racing, there are a variety of other entertainments including sideshows and carnival rides,

Easter egg hunts for children, food and alcohol stalls and ‘fashions on the field’ competitions for the public. The Club traditionally allows patrons and children onto the race track itself, including playing games such as football. Patrons are also permitted into the horse stalls area, in very close proximity to the horses. The infrastructure such as ‘grandstands’ date back to the 1880s. Underneath the grandstand, in a public area, the Club maintains a wall of horse shoes, taken from previous winners of the Great Eastern steeplechase. The Club also issues a race book for each day of the carnival that is a guide to horses entered, and which also contains short stories about previous winners of Oakbank’s jumps races. Traditionally, winners of the steeplechases are presented with their trophies by the Governor of South Australia. The Onkaparinga Racing Club (Oakbank Racing Club) held its first race meeting in 1876, including a steeplechase of over two and a half miles, for stakes of around £20. In 1877, the steeplechase was renamed the Great Eastern Steeplechase and its distance increased to three miles. By 1880, Oakbank had a small grandstand and a totaliser. When a railway link to the Adelaide Hills opened in 1883, attendance at the Oakbank Easter carnival increased to 8,000 people, as many as the South Australian Jockey Club (SAJC) could get for its Adelaide Cup. By 1885, the governor attended. Between the years of 1883 to 1885, the beneficiary of the South Australian ban on racecourse gambling (see Section 3.3), was the Onkaparinga Racing Club (Oakbank Racing Club) and it’s Easter Racing Carnival. Freedman and Lemon (1990, p 328) claim that only the Melbourne Cup could boast a larger crowd than Oakbank on Easter Monday, stating that:

> To this day, Oakbank is unique, a relic of the style of racing that was common in nineteenth Century Australia, preserving a sense of the carnival, when the annual race meeting was high festival, the one great social gathering of every country district, when the days of the distance race was the rule not the exception.

With the parliamentary ban on the tote, Alfred von Doussa, secretary of the Onkaparinga Racing Club, increased the stakes money for the Great Eastern to £200. Despite the ban on bookmaking and the totaliser in 1887, von Doussa allowed a tote to operate at the Easter meeting and even placed the first bet. The tote took £3,220 on the day and, although charged by the police, von Doussa received only a token fine. The 1888 meeting was even more successful, with attendance boosted by a large NSW contingent of men and horses from Broken Hill, who utilised the services of illegal bookmakers. With the return of the tote in 1889, the Great Eastern Steeplechase prize money was increased to £500 and the crowd was

estimated to have reached 12,000, more than the total number attending the SAJC's Adelaide Cup. At this meeting, the tote took more than £7,000, also exceeding tote takings at the Adelaide Cup. Oakbank was such *"*an institution by this time that it defied economic gravity and trampled on theories of attracting crowds to race courses*"* (Freedman and Lemon 1990, p 329). By 1890, the crowd reached around 20,000 and, by 1896, the prize money for the Great Eastern reached £1,000, comparable with the richest jump races in Victoria, drawing prominent Victorian racehorse owners, such as the Manifold family, to Oakbank. Despite the economic slump of the 1890s, the tote grew in strength, such that, on Easter Monday of 1897, Oakbank passed £21,634 through its tote (Norwood 1897).

Warrnambool is a regional centre on the south west coast of Victoria about 270 km from Melbourne. The population of Warrnambool is approximately 34,000 people (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2016). The Warrnambool Racing Club is itself is located around 1.5 km from the city centre of Warrnambool and is an expansive, flat, race track located amongst Warrnambool's central suburbs. Unlike Oakbank, the obstacles are manmade panels erected before each jumps race. The steeplechase course loops around the race track and doubles back on itself. The Club holds around 20 meetings a year. The May Carnival is held over 3 days, on a Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. The Thursday, Brierly steeplechase day, is a local public holiday in Warrnambool. The carnival attracts a crowd of around 40, 000 people over the 3 days of racing. Unlike Oakbank, there are no ancillary attractions, and the carnival consists of 3 days of racing with jumps racing on each day. Like Oakbank, there are race books for each race day including stories of previous races and famous former winners of these events. Before the major jumps races, a former (horse) winner parades in front of the crowd.

Horse racing was first held in Warrnambool in1848, eight months after the city was proclaimed. The first steeplechase was run on 13 June 1872, when the Warrnambool Winter Steeplechase Meeting was introduced with all jumping races, for the prize money of £100, in addition to a £3 sweepstakes. Nearly 4,000 people attended, with Melbourne bookmakers arriving by steamship from Melbourne (Pollard 1971). In 1890, a train from Melbourne reached Warrnambool, making transport to the races easy and comfortable and, consequently, the steeplechase attracted even larger crowds and bookmakers to the meeting. In 1895, this race became known as the Grand Annual Steeplechase and became an annual holiday for the town, a tradition that has been maintained into the twenty first century. By 1904,

improvements in the form of new buildings and amenities, as well as changing the direction of racing from right to left handed, attracted a crowd of 12,000 to the winter meeting. The Grand Annual continues today as the longest horse race in Australia at 5,000 meters and involving 33 fences.

The years between 1900 and 1920 were regarded as 'boom years' for jumps racing (Freedman and Lemon 1990). At the outbreak of World War 1, there were 636 jumps races held in Australia, and more than 50% of these were in Victoria (Adams 2012), a strong hold of jumps racing. From 1920 to 1950, Australian jumps racing gradually became confined to Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania. Jumps racing ceased in Queensland in 1923, only 60 years after it began. The hot humid climate of Queensland, the high energy demands of jumping and the longer distances of jumps racing, proved fundamentally unsuited to the physiology of horses, who lose metabolic heat through evaporative heat loss or sweating. Consequently, few horses competed in Queensland jumps races and public interest waned. In New South Wales, public interest in jumps racing also progressively waned over the period 1920 to 1940. By 1931, steeplechasing was no longer conducted in metropolitan Sydney and in 1941, hurdle races also ended in Sydney, reflecting the combined effects of the wartime environment and lack of public interest in hurdle racing (McManus, Albrecht and Graham 2013).

The decades between 1950 and 1980 marked a period when both Australian thoroughbred racing and jumps racing underwent significant change. Short, fast sprinting flat races for high prize money for two-year-old horses over distances of less than a mile, such as the Golden Slipper and the Blue Diamond Stakes, were introduced and proved extremely popular with the racing public. In 1976, the traditional connections between the amateur gentleman rider, hunting and horse racing ended when the final Hunt Club steeplechase for qualified hunters and amateur riders was held at Moonee Valley and the Adelaide Hunt Club Cup, the last remaining race in South Australia for amateur riders, was run for the last time. In the same year, the Victorian Labour party introduced a policy to ban jumps racing. Concurrently, the Victorian branch of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA) commenced a campaign to ban jumps racing (see Table 3.1). By 1977, support for jumps racing had eroded to such an extent within racing itself that the Victorian Amateur Turf Club (VATC) wrote to the Victorian Racing Club and expressed its desire to abandon jumps racing at its metropolitan Moonee Valley course, citing poor crowds, low numbers of starters and

poor betting interest in these races (The Canberra Times 1977). In response, the Victoria Racing Club initiated a review of jumps racing, the first of what was to be six reviews of the sport over the next 20 years.

3.7. A history of changing values

From its inception, jumps racing, especially steeplechasing, has invited opposition to its use of horses for human entertainment, reflecting the inherently risky combination of jumping, speed and long-distance racing. This combination of speed and distance is associated with frequent accidents and injuries to both horses and jockeys, including fatal accidents (McManus, Albrecht and Graham 2013). In 1849, the British House of Commons considered whether it should legislate to ban steeplechasing, a debate that was subsequently lampooned in the Australian press of the time as a waste of time (Anonymous 1849). In Australia, the revered poet Banjo Paterson, described steeplechasing as horse-and-man slaughter as early as 1917 (Paterson 1917).

The Victorian branch of the RSPCA was established in Melbourne in 1871 to address the concerns about the welfare of horses in Victoria at a time when horses were a routine part of daily life in both urban and rural communities, for work, haulage and transport (Wirth, 2015, *pers comm*). Even during the boom decades of jumps racing in the 1920s, the RSPCA questioned whether steeplechases should be abolished, although they eventually concluded that "the fences were indeed practicable for a good horse with a good heart" (Anonymous 1922). In 1924, the RSPCA wrote to the VRC and Victorian Amateur Turf Club (VATC), asking them to abolish steeplechasing because of the risks to human and animal life. In their letter, the society pointed out that rarely is there a steeplechase in which all competitors finish and suggested that *"*the punter will get a better run for his money by substituting flat races*"* (Anonymous 1927). This marked, perhaps, the earliest of arguments by opponents of Australian jumps racing, about the lethal combination of speed, distance and jumping.

In 1935, the public death of the popular champion jumps horse, Redditch, during a jumps race, heralds the start of an ongoing public narrative, largely conducted in metropolitan newspapers, about the safety of jumps racing and the deaths of horses. Redditch was a crowd favourite, a handsome hero who was 'brim full of courage' and his death was made visible to the general public through film and press images, including cinematographic footage of his fatal fall (McManus 2016). Letters to the editors of major newspapers called for change. The

death of Redditch, the popular hero, brought change to jumps racing in the form of new brush fences across all Australian states, replacing the hard, unforgiving, wooden panel fences.

In the wake of such media exposure and public awareness, the deaths of jumps horses were called the 'price of cruelty' by the public in letters to the Editor of the South Australian News and there was a call in 1945 for the abandonment of the Oakbank Great Eastern Steeplechase from the RSPCA (Price of Cruelty 1945). In 1950, the RSPCA again wrote to the VRC recommending that steeplechase fences be lowered by at least six inches. The VRC refused and ridiculed the RSPCA, claiming that their suggestion to lower the height of fences would simply contribute to a further deterioration of steeplechasers (Grundy 1945). But calls to abolish jumps racing, especially in South Australia, continued in the popular press (Sellen 1950). In 1954, the SAJC rejected a public call to terminate jumps races, claiming the hurdle and steeplechase races attracted many more people to the race-day meetings and that *"*all the glamour would be removed if there were no jumping races*"* (News 1954). In 1968, the RSPCA asked the VRC for a report on jumping races, including the fate of seriously injured horses, because of their concerns about the high numbers of horses killed in jumping events. By 1977, the number of horses killed in jumps races had reached a total of 18 for the Victorian season and the RSPCA again lobbied the VRC on behalf of the horses, claiming that the horses were not getting a fair deal (The Canberra Times 1977).

The period from 1970 to 1980 was one of rapid social, demographic, political and technological change in Australia. Most of Australia's population of 12 million people lived in cities. Technological innovations, such as floppy discs, personal computers and digital printers changed the speed and nature of communication and information dissemination. The first Boeing 747 aircraft were brought into Australian service enabling faster long-distance air transport. This was also a period in which Australian academic scholars gained international prominence. In 1975, the ethicist, Peter Singer, published *Animal Liberation,* popularised the term "speciesism", to describe the practice of privileging humans over other animals, and argue for the equal consideration of the interests of all sentient beings (Table 3.1). With the interest surrounding this book, the scene was set for an increased public awareness of animal sentience and debate about animal cruelty. New Australian animal activist and advocacy organisations, such as Animal Liberation were established and Singer later cofounded Animals Australia, and was also a founding member of the political Greens' Party (Animals Australia 2017).

The Australian Constitution does not specifically address animal welfare matters and, historically, the Commonwealth's role in this area has not been a significant one. However, during the 1980s in Australia, there were a number of important initiatives by both Federal and State governments in relation to animal welfare. Although the Federal government has limited legal powers in this area, in 1984 it initiated a national enquiry into animal welfare by a senate select committee. The scope of the committee's enquiry was very broad and included live sheep exports, intensive livestock farming, the use of animals in research, as well as the use of animals in entertainment. Reflecting the diffusion of changed social values and attitudes towards animals, the committee's discussions (on live sheep exports) considered the balance between the competing values of economic development and animal welfare, drawing on a range of ethical and moral philosophers, including Peter Singer (a witness before the committee on two occasions), Mary Midgely and Tom Regan. In 1985, the committee concluded that "if a decision were to be made on the future of the trade purely on animal welfare grounds, there is enough evidence to stop the trade. The trade is, in many respects, inimical to good animal welfare" (Senate Select Committee on Animal Welfare, 1985 p 93).

In May 1988, the committee began an inquiry into the animal welfare aspects of the racing industry (thoroughbreds, greyhounds and harness racing) as part of its more general reference on the question of animal welfare in Australia. The committee tabled an interim report in June 1990 and presented its final report in August 1991 in which they found:

> serious concerns about the welfare of horses participating in jump races. These concerns are based on the significant probability of a horse suffering serious injury or even death as a result of participating in these events and, in particular, steeplechasing. This concern is exacerbated by evidence suggesting that, even with improvements to the height and placing of jumps, training and education, the fatality rate would remain constant. The Committee, therefore, can only conclude that there is an inherent conflict between these activities and animal welfare. Accordingly, the Committee is of the view that relevant State Governments should phase out jumps racing over the next three years (Senate Select Committee on Animal Welfare 1991, p 24).

Although a minority of committee members contested these findings, jumps racing and the welfare of horses involved in this activity, were placed under national and political scrutiny in an environment where influential animal advocates, ethicists and scholars had directly participated in and helped to shape the policy debate and report findings.

In 1997, the NSW parliament banned jumps racing (Table 3.1). The ban was introduced into the NSW parliament by the Australian Democrats Party and narrowly passed by two votes, as part of a broader package of animal protection measures. This ban had little practical effect, given that NSW jumps racing had effectively ceased in 1941. But the ban remains both politically and socially significant. Influenced by Singer, Greens' Party animal welfare policies resonated with the urbanised Sydney population, gaining popular support. As a large modern city, horses were no longer a routine part of the urban landscape in Sydney, and horses were now peri-urban dwellers (RIRDC 2015). For Sydney's residents, their contemporary knowledge and contact with horses was now frequently mediated by images in the popular media. NSW remains the only state in Australia to ban jumps racing. However, in 2007, Tasmanian jumps racing also ceased, put on hold by Tasmanian racing authorities following an internal review. By 2006, the Tasmania jumps racing season was confined to the north-eastern parts of Tasmania and crowd numbers had dwindled. Almost all of the horses were Victorian, the racecourse and infrastructure were poorly maintained and deemed a significant safety risk for both jockeys and horses. By 2007, South Australia and Victoria remained the only Australian states to conduct jumps races (Table 3.1).

Event	Comments
1975: Peter Singer publishes Animal Liberation	Awareness of animal sentience and rise of animal activism
1976: Victorian Labour party policy to ban jumps racing RSPCA Victoria starts campaign to ban jumps racing	Political opposition to jumps racing based on horse welfare established in Vic
1978: Society for the Promotion of Jumps Racing formed	First industry body for jumps racing
1984: The Australia Jumping Racing Association established (AJRA)	Society for the Promotion of Jumps Racing becomes the Australia Jumping Racing Association (AJRA)
1997: The Greens Party NSW introduce a Bill to ban jumps racing	Jumps racing is banned in NSW, the only state to do so
1998: Racing Victoria reviews jumps racing to: • develop a balanced jumping programme, • improve the quantity and quality of jumping fields • address and review all safety issues in order to minimize risks associated with jumps racing, thus improving its image • increase on-course and off-course gambling turnover in jumping events • review costs relating to the conduct of jumps racing	Outcomes included: • implementation of official hurdle schools and trials • a jumping database to identify potential problems, and trends with regard to incidents jumps races programmed in the early part of a race day, on most occasions as race one
2001: Victorian Advocates for Animals start an anti-jump racing campaign	Increased public opposition to jumps racing
2002: Racing Victoria reviews all aspects of jumping racing in Victoria, including: • welfare and safety of hurdle and steeplechase horses and jumping riders • economics of jumping racing including impact on participants, racing clubs, local communities (e.g. Warrnambool) • the jumping racing program (race dates and the number of races • the racecourses on which jumping racing is conducted	Outcomes included: • adoption of standard hurdles throughout the state • minimum distance for hurdle races set at 3,200 metres • horses failing to finish in a jumping race be vetted • horses that jump and/or perform poorly required to school to the satisfaction of the stewards before racing again in a jumping race • jumps trainers must be licensed and pass a specific jumps related test. • workshops for jumping jockeys at least twice a year • a data base of incidents in jumping races to enable analyse to see if any particular racecourses / obstacles are responsible for a higher incidence of falls • boots on horses' forelegs made compulsory in jumping races
2005 Racing Victoria reviews jumps racing including: • the economic and social value of jumps racing and impact on racing participants, racing clubs and communities • the relevance of jumps racing taking into account the views of proponents, animal welfare organizations and the wider community.	RVL declares its confidence in the long-term future of jumps racing. RVL appoints a 'Manager – Jumps Racing' The role and the on-going relationship between AJRA and racing Victoria is defined New Mark III obstacles at all Victorian Jumping venues.
2006: Last Tasmanian jumps race is held	South Australia and Victoria remain as the only states conducting jumps racing
2007:12 horse deaths in Victoria Tas racing decides to suspend jumps racing following an internal enquiry	Jumps racing ceases in Tasmania due to poor participation rates and lack of interest

Event	Comments
2008: 14 jumps horse deaths for the season (trials and race deaths) Animals Australia presents "Jumps racing submission to Victorian Members of Parliament" Judge David Jones delivers his independent report on Victorian jumps racing	Jumps racing continues. Key recommendations in Jones report include: • establishing a Jumps Review Panel that reviews all jumps races • only racing on slow to heavy rated tracks • maximum field size of 14 horses • minimum weight of 64 kg to be carried • an obviously fatigued and out of contention horse to be retired from the race • mandatory jump training and qualifications for jockeys and trainers
2009: 11 horse deaths in the Victorian jumps season Racing Victoria suspends jumps racing following the deaths of 3 horses at the Warrnambool May carnival and announces a two-year transition plan to phase out jumps racing	Minister Rob Hulls says the "death of any horse is not an acceptable by-product of racing and the rate of deaths so far this season is unsustainable" (the Age, May 7, 2009). Political and public opposition grows.
2010: Racing Victoria reverses its decision and permits jumps racing to continue subject to meeting key performance indicators. Victorian government changed, Dennis Napthine elected premier	New safety measures implemented including the ability to withdraw a fatigued and out of contention horse from the race at the discretion of the jockey.
2011: Key Performance Indicators discontinued. Tammy Franks, Greens member SA parliament, introduces a Bill to ban jumps racing in that state	Franks Bill defeated in SA parliament.
2012: Napthine government increases investment in jumps racing.	Jumps racing enters a period of relative stability.
2015: Tammy Franks reintroduces her Bill to ban jumps racing. The SA Jockey Club expresses its desire to phase out jumps racing at Morphettville supported by the minister for racing	The SAJC position becomes public, leading to an alignment between the SAJC, Tammy Franks and the racing minister
2016: SA sets up a parliamentary enquiry into jump racing, including whether not it should be banned. RSPCA subjected to independent review about its failures in key areas. Victorian Minister for racing says decisions about jumps racing are for Racing Victoria	SA parliamentary select committee enquiry report gives jumps racing a 3-year reprieve from scrutiny. RSPCA to withdraw from campaigns against lawful activities and focus on welfare and inspectorate.
2017: Victoria racing releases a jump program with increased regional presence, SA program reduces the number of races at Morphettville.	Victorian metropolitan jumps racing reduced to two race meetings. Jumps racing to continue at Morphettville but with a reduced number of race days.

Table 3-1: Key events in Australian jumps racing, 1975-2017

The years 2008 and 2009 are worthy of particular consideration as they highlight a period of intense scrutiny and uncertainty for jumps racing. During the 2008 and 2009 Australian jump racing seasons, the highly visible deaths of 14 horses in jump races across Victoria and South Australia inflamed criticism by welfare and activist groups, heightened public concern and prompted the prospect of its banning in Victoria (Smith 2009, Sydney Morning Herald 2009; Racing Victoria 2008). The then Victorian Racing Minister, Rob Hulls, subsequently wrote to Victorian racing authorities signalling his concern about the number of horse fatalities and the need to improve the efficacy of safety measures (Ruse, Davison and Bridle 2015). This letter was also leaked to the press before it was sent to Racing Victoria (Montoya, McManus and Albrecht 2012). In response Racing Victoria Limited (RVL) commissioned an independent review of jumps racing by Judge David Jones. The 'Jones review' reflected three factors: public pressure from animal welfare groups to ban jumps racing; political pressure from the Minister for Racing, Rob Hulls to stop jumps racing; and the events of the Grand National Hurdle at Flemington on June 28, 2008, when two horses were euthanized after falling during the race and only four horses out of 13 completed the race (Figure 3.1). The review concluded that jumps racing could continue in 2009 on the condition that review recommendations were implemented (Jones 2008).

Figure 3-1: Adrian Garraway riding Pasco falls during the Grand National Hurdle Day meeting at Flemington June 28 2008. (Image credit Getty Images)

The Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses was established in 2008 and brought together six animal rights groups opposed to jumps racing, including Animals Australia; Animal Liberation, South Australia; Victorian Advocates for Animals; Animal Liberation, Australian Capital Territory; Against Cruelty, Tasmania; and the People and Animal Welfare Society, Western Australia. One of their first activities was to present the Victorian government with a comprehensive submission of why jumps racing should be banned (Animals Australia 2008). Their submission reported that 13.1 out of every 1,000 horses (1.31%) starting in a jump race (hereafter referred to as 'starts') died (Animals Australia 2008). Their submission also summarised longer term fatality rates from 1989 to 2004 based on a 2006 study in the *Equine Veterinary Journal* documenting the risk of a fatality in Australian jump racing as almost 19 times that in flat racing (Boden *et. al.* 2006). This study found that catastrophic limb failure, the predominant cause of horseracing deaths, was approximately 18 times greater for Australian jump racing than flat racing, with cranial or vertebral injury 120 times greater and sudden death 3.5 times greater (Boden *et al.* 2006).

The opposition against jumps racing continued to evolve grounded in emergent and changed social values and attitudes towards animals, especially regarding their use in human entertainment, combined with an awareness and acceptance of animal sentience and agency (for example, Regan 2004). Such groups progressed beyond incremental legislation for the improved wellbeing of animals (welfare), instead advocating that all instrumental use of animals must cease (animal rights/activism). Tom Regan explained this latter approach using an example of caged chickens, instead of advocating for larger cages (his representation of the welfare approach), the animal rights approach advocates the dismantling of cages (Regan 2004, p 78). The abolitionist approach to animal rights is a subset of the animal rights movement that rejects all animal use and maintains that all sentient beings, humans or non-humans, have one right: the basic right not to be treated as the property of others (Francione and Garner 2010). Attention to the pain and distress inflicted on racing and jumping horses was a logical extension of that movement (McManus, Albrecht and Graham 2013).

In 2009, Racing Victoria, the principal authority governing thoroughbred racing in Victoria, commissioned an independent and comprehensive review of jumps racing in the light of growing political and public pressure to stop jumps racing. The fall and fatality rates for the 2009 season were reported by this review as being 50.8 per 1,000

starts and 12.7 per 1,000 starts, respectively, the highest recorded during the 2005 to 2009 seasons (Racing Victoria 2009). These results were despite six previous reviews of horse and jockey safety in Australian jump racing since 1994, with the recommendations of the last of these, the 2008 Jones Report, implemented prior to the 2009 season (Animals Australia 2008, Racing Victoria 2009). In May 2009, following the deaths of three horses on the same day at the Warrnambool May racing carnival, Racing Victoria immediately acted and precipitously suspended jumps racing. The Victorian Minister for Racing, Rob Hulls, stated at that time; "the death of any horse is not an acceptable by-product of racing and the rate of deaths so far this season is unsustainable" (the Age 2009). In November 2009, Racing Victoria announced a two-year transition plan to phase out jump racing after 2010.

Public and political awareness and opposition to jumps racing continued over the period 2011 to 2017. In 2011, the South Australia Greens Member of Parliament, Tammy Franks introduced a Bill to ban jumps racing in that state. And in 2015, the South Australian Jockey Club publicly expressed a desire to phase out jumps racing from its Morphettville race course a position that was opposed by Thoroughbred Racing South Australia (TRSA), the peak governing body in South Australia. At the same time, the South Australian Minister for racing, Leon Bignell, publicly expressed his desire to end the activity. Given this climate of growing opposition to jumps racing, and the public announcements that the South Australian Jockey Club (SAJC) wished to phase out jumps racing, Tammy Franks reintroduced a Bill to ban jump racing. In the ensuing parliamentary debate, the Minister for Racing, initiated a parliamentary committee to investigate jumps racing in South Australia, including an option to ban the activity.

In late 2016, the South Australian parliamentary Select Committee (Jumps Racing) handed jumps racing a three-year reprieve. Significantly, the Committee acknowledged that changing community attitudes and values required the industry to implement further protections and show greater transparency and accountability, noting widespread public sentiment for a duty of care for animals, particularly those in sport such that "society has a duty of care to consider the psychological and physical effects on animals and to act accordingly to afford animals a positive experience and minimise harm and suffering wherever possible" (South Australian Parliament 2016, p5). As I discuss in later chapters, although jumps racing has received a three-year reprieve, the

outlook is for continued societal pressure about horse safety and welfare issues, not only in jumps racing but for thoroughbred racing overall.

It is this ongoing debate that is the focus of the overarching research question of this thesis that was posed in the introduction: How are changing values regarding human-animal relationships reflected and represented in the past, present and future of Australian jumps racing? The phenomena of jumps racing offer insight into the broader societal construction of animal identities and the way in which human societies construct and change their values. In the next chapter, I discuss the rationale for my research approach and how I chose the methodologies and methods I have employed to unravel the changing human values and attitudes towards animals that underpin this debate.

Chapter 4: Research design and approach

In the preceding chapters, I addressed the close and coevolving relationship between humans and horses, exploring how the ethology of horses and social structures and aspirations have combined to fashion and refashion human-horse relationships. Although horses have largely been replaced for work and haulage in modern Western societies, nevertheless they remain of significance to humans as leisure companions and pets, as markers of national identity, as commodities and as participants in interspecies sport. Using the example of the thoroughbred racehorse, I have shown how the life course of this breed has been intertwined with humans since the beginning. As described in the introduction, the overall research aims of this research are to explore the nuanced values and relationships between humans and horses, as manifest in Australian thoroughbred jumps racing. This chapter presents the research approach and rationale for choosing the methodologies and methods employed, as well as approach used to analyse the data generated in the course of the study.

4.1. Studying the human-horse relationship

The research design drew from the methodological insights of scholars in human-animal studies who have challenged conventional and anthropocentric approaches that exclude the experiences and contributions of non-humans within relationships (Birke and Hockenhull 2012; Buller 2015; Freeman, Bekoff and Bexell 2011; Urbanik 2012). In the past few decades, this emerging discipline has sought to 'bring the animal back in' and to research the nature of the human-animal relationship itself (Wolch and Emel 1998). 'Bringing the animal back in' requires at least some acknowledgement of the agency of animals, as well as the ways in which agency can be differentially constructed or understood in time and place (Buller 2014; Urbanik 2012). As such, human-animal studies research also offers a "less one-sided ontology of both human and non-human knowing and being" (Buller 2014, p 310).

Human-animal scholars approach animals as mattering, individually, collectively, materially, semiotically, metaphorically, politically, rationally and affectively. As argued by Lorimer (2011, p 74), it is through "ordinary circumstances… the life outdoors… and the elemental phenomena of life" that new understandings of human-animal relationships are revealed. It is by engaging with intimate, experienced, lived

and dwelt encounters with animals, that human understanding of culture and shared social spaces is expanded (Buller 2014).

Situating this research within the broad area of human-animal studies posed emergent methodological challenges (Buller 2015, p 3015). How can we know about animals, and what might we do with that knowledge? In addressing this question, the key issue was to employ methodologies that set aside approaches that have reinforced the ontological and epistemological divisions between human and non-human animals (Urbanik 2012, p 186). Buller (2015) recognises three key methodological challenges for human-animal studies:

- reaching beyond collective and abstract categorisations of the non-human (for example, species, function, location);
- identifying approaches that understand that animals do not rely upon wholly human representative accounts; that is, finding ways of 'letting the animals speak'; and
- setting aside the separation of social and natural sciences to devise concepts and methodologies that address what matters for humans *and* non-humans.

Many different theoretical frameworks presently inform much research in human-animal studies. For example, post-humanism, which seeks to decentre the human (Wolfe 2008); multi-species ethnography, with its nuanced focus on contact zones, entanglements and encounters (Hamilton and Placas 2011; Haraway 2008); or biosocial anthropology, thinking about individuals as biological and social beings that, through interspecies practices and interactions, create their own selves (Ingold 2013). The concept of coevolution, which I traced in previous chapters as drawing attention to the interplay of horse and human agency in the making and remaking of human-horse relationships over time, provides the key methodological rationale that informed my choice of methods, although this was also influenced by methodological advances in human animal studies more generally.

Social research has been dominated by emphasis on the essentialness of spoken speech (Zola 1995). Yet, how can we interview animals if they do not have a language that we share, understand, or are able to speak? (Dalke and Wels 2016, p 183). With respect to human-horse communication, I required an approach that would enable me to understand how people perceive the horse's role in constructing individual

relationships. For example, Smith *et al.* (2016) demonstrated that horses can distinguish between angry and happy human faces. Thus, an accurate assessment of negative emotion is possible across the species, despite the differences in facial morphology between horses and humans. As suggested by Dalke and Wels (2016), the door is open for trans-species research methodologies, shifting current anthropocentric methods to a less hierarchical and more equable approach and 'letting go' of the human-animal distinction. Most recently, Nyman and Shuurman (2015) argued for the need for new research methodologies to better address the role of the horse and offer a less anthropocentric approach to human-horse relationships that includes horses, as well as humans, as agents and subjects of study.

My research investigates why and how thoroughbred racehorses matter to humans in the context of Australian jumps racing. I address thoroughbred race practices and representations of the thoroughbred racehorse, and the ways in which the human-thoroughbred relationship is situated, experienced, narrated and mediated in jumps racing. The phenomena of jumps racing offers insight into the broader societal construction of animal identities and the way in which human societies construct and change their values.

In addressing my overarching research question, the first two chapters drew upon the insights and ethos of the emerging field of human animal studies to place the activity of horseracing in the historical context of the centrality of the coevolving horse-human relationship in human social history. In Chapter 3, I described the way in which Australian racing emerged as a sporting and cultural practice in a society where most Australians lived closely with working animals, in particular, horses. By tracing the history of jumps racing, in particular, and the relationship between its humans and horses, I traced how human attitudes towards horses in Australia changed over time, identifying some of the underpinning agents of change, including social class, urbanisation and rural and regional identity.

Thus, the centrality of the coevolved human-horse relationship has ensured that horses have been valued and continue to be valued in many different and crucially important ways by humans. The lives of horses have become thoroughly entangled with the

identity of places, with social class and stratification, with economic production, with local and regional politics and with human entertainment and leisure. In the rest of this thesis, I apply this understanding of the value-laden nature of human-horse relationships to the specific activity of Australian jumps racing. The following research sub-questions have guided the design and conduct of my field research.

> **Sub-question 1:** What economic, social, cultural and political histories have shaped jumps racing in contemporary Australia?
>
> **Sub-question 2:** How have differences between locations and scales of activity within Australia shaped jumps racing in particular places?
>
> **Sub-question 3:** How do participants in jumps racing experience, represent and value the horse?
>
> **Sub-question 4:** Have the practices, perceptions and values of jumps racing advocates and supporters changed in light of the recent controversy and media debate about horse welfare?
>
> **Sub-question 5:** What are the major challenges to jumps racing in the medium to longer term?

4.2. Methodology and research design

A key challenge I faced was to design my research approach so as to study human values about horses. In the context of lived experience of the coevolving human-horse relationship, I sought to focus on the human-horse relationship as an encounter between autonomous agents, an encounter in which horse lives must remain both partially explicable and partially inexplicable in any human framework of understanding. My choice of a mixed methodology combining qualitative and quantitative methods was influenced by the nature of my research questions which sought to uncover both descriptive information and value-based perspectives. Horses and people occupy not just physical locations, but also social locations. A mixed method is therefore appropriate, as my research was located not just within the physical spaces occupied by humans and horses but within the social construct of horse racing. My research approach therefore required paradigm pluralism, a rejection of dichotomies, an iterative approach to inquiry and, importantly, an emphasis on answering the research question (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2011). Teddlie and Tashakkori (2011, p286) refer to this as ‘methodological eclecticism’ and regard it as a key characteristic of a mixed-method approach: “selecting and then synergistically integrating the most appropriate techniques in order to more thoroughly investigate a phenomenon of interest”.

Creswell (2013) defines a mixed-method approach as one in which the researcher:

- collects and analyses persuasively and rigorously both qualitative and
- quantitative data (based on research questions);
- mixes or integrates the two forms of data concurrently by combining them or merging them, or sequentially by having one build on the other in a way that gives priority to one or to both;
- uses these procedures in a single study or multiple phases of a program of study;
- frames these procedures within philosophical world views and a theoretical lens; and
- combines procedures into specific research designs that direct the plan for conducting the study.

To answer sub-question 1, the research design initially involved quantitative analysis of the size, scale, distribution and scope of Australian jumps racing. This quantitative approach identified emerging trends in these variables over time. The quantitative and archival data revealed the jumps racing community to be small, tight-knit, centred on a small number of communities, locations and annual events and potentially defensive in relation to criticism about death and injuries to horses that similarly were derived from key activist and welfare organisations. Potentially therefore, my participants would know of each other and perhaps know each other personally. To address sub-questions 2-5, the small world of jumps racing and its leading critics was explored using the qualitative methods of participant observation and semi-structured interviewing. Interviews were used to elicit both shared and conflicting views and understandings of how participants valued and represented horses, as well as to uncover individual differences. This approach was informed by the relevant literature on the use of qualitative methods in studying the experiential, embodied and subjective dimensions of relationships between humans and horses (Dalke and Wells 2016; Schuurman 2014; Schuurman and Franklin 2015).

4.3. Reflexivity

In the preface to this work I acknowledged some of the existing values and perceptions I brought to this research. Critical reflexivity was a vital part of my methodology. I routinely incorporated time each week to reflect on my fieldwork, as well as my

interpretations of events and my analysis of issues. Reflecting on my personal experiences throughout this process helped me to question my approach, maintain objectivity and avoid bias. I adopted the technique of debriefing myself after each interview, which involved listening to the record of each interview and then recording my thoughts and identifying issues or potential conflicts. I also kept correspondence where I wrote to my supervisors and others about my field work. Finally, I provided and received feedback on weekly and monthly peer reports of my activities, issues and future work to my academic supervisors, as well as to the other Chief Investigators and researchers in the wider project in which my project was embedded (Australian Research Council Discovery Project, DP 130104933, '*Caring for Thoroughbreds'*) to help steer my course and provide me with regular independent review.

For many years, I have been a 'race goer', horse owner, rider and equestrian competitor. I also completed a formal university undergraduate qualification in equine science. I understand many of the practices, social norms and values of horse racing and its 'horse people' in Australia (Cassidy a, 2007). Having completed a Degree in Equine Science, I consider myself knowledgeable about horse behaviour and physiology. This knowledge was essential to my ability to conduct my research, as the world of horse racing, especially jumps racing, is not always easily accessible to 'outsiders' or those with limited horse or horse racing knowledge. Gaining entry to this world was particularly challenging in this project, as the focus was on the value conflicts about horse welfare and wellbeing that have seen the racing industry in Australia become increasingly wary of the criticism of 'outsiders' over the past 25 years (McManus Albrecht and Graham 2013). My personal and applied knowledge of horses and horse racing was especially important to gain the cooperation and trust of participants within racing. By demonstrating that I am knowledgeable and an experienced 'hands-on' horse person, interested in learning more about horse racing, I was able to engage with participants on issues such as individual horses, their training, injuries and rehabilitation, and on occasion, the death of a horse. Such discussions were an essential entry point to explore their perceptions of their relationship with individual horses, of horse welfare and of the risks of jumps racing. As a horse owner, my personal experiences and practices have been important in guiding my ideas about human-horse relationships. My knowledge also helped my reflections on participant conversations, as well as the practices I observed at race meetings. For example, I often

deliberately observed how horses were cooled off after jumps races, which enabled me to watch for injuries or subtle signs of physical or mental stress. Such observations also better enabled me to explore the controversy and claims about the welfare issues inherent in thoroughbred jumps racing in conventional media and online commentaries.

4.4. Settling the approach

A mixed methods research design incorporating quantitative and qualitative strategies was thus developed to address the questions above. A mixed-method approach involves selecting and then synergistically and flexibly integrating the most appropriate qualitative and quantitative techniques to more thoroughly investigate a phenomenon of interest (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2011). Mixed methods' approaches are based on the premise that qualitative and quantitative approaches illuminate different aspects of the same phenomenon, so that a sharper, multi-faceted and more complete picture emerges (Denzin and Lincoln 20051, p 717). Thus, the quantitative methodology provided me with a statistically robust overview of jumps racing, while the qualitative approach enabled a 'finer grained' in-depth study of particular individuals, locations and claims. Such approaches have the potential to enable a fuller response to a research question than possible with either qualitative or quantitative methods alone (Cresswell 2013). In addition, a mixed-method approach enables the triangulation of data from multiple sources, "one of the most powerful techniques for strengthening credibility" and research validity (Baxter and Eyles 1997, p 514).

In what follows, the rationale is presented for each of the methods chosen: descriptive analysis, semi-structured interviews, participant observation, thematic and narrative analysis and desktop review of both historical and contemporary documents. The final section focusses on the rationale, benefits, limitations and analysis of the descriptive statistics that comprise my complementary quantitative methodology.

4.5. Quantitative analysis

Jumps race data (hurdle and steeplechase) were obtained from Racing Australia (RA) for the 2012, 2013 and 2014 racing seasons from the 'results' area of the RA website. Although publicly available, these data are recorded on a race-by-race basis and are not aggregated, nor are composite trends identified. Data retrieved included: race name, location, date, time, distance and course condition rating, as well as the name of each

horse, jockey and trainer involved in each race. Seasonal data on total starts for the period between 2007 and 2010 were obtained from the *Australian Racing Fact Books* for each year between 2007 to 2010. Every thoroughbred race in Australia is reviewed by an official 'stewards' panel', which monitors racing conduct and injuries to horses. For jumps races, a Jump Review Panel (JRP) subsequently reviews how well each horse jumped each obstacle. Stewards' reports were obtained from RA, and JRP reports were obtained from Racing Victoria Limited (RVL). Although a similar panel reviews South Australian jumps races, these reports are not publicly available.

Data were entered into a Microsoft Excel TM (2013) database and ordered in the form of a 'start', or an individual horse leaving a starting gate in a jumps race. Data were organised by racing season, which extends from March to September of a calendar year. Annual data, thus, related to a single jumps race season, except for data that was standardised to an annual racing year (1 July to 30 June) to allow for comparison with datasets from other studies. Horses listed in a jumps race can be 'scratched' before a race, due to a variety of reasons; for example, disqualification by a veterinarian. Scratched horses were not included in the database. The database recorded individual horse performances and race-placings and listed intra-race incidents in each race from the official stewards' reports, including, falls, run outs, lost riders, brought down and failed to finish (a term used in official race reports to describe a horse withdrawn during a race at the discretion of the jockey). Jump Review Panel reports about horse performance at each jump were matched to the official stewards' reports for each horse, including details of fatal falls and other race incidents. The database, therefore, provided a comprehensive picture of individual horse performances, as well as a means to aggregate Australian jumps race information over the study period. My initial aim was to uniquely identify jumps horses, their trainers and jockeys, in order to describe the size, scope and location of Australian jumps racing and the risks to horses over this period.

Starts were summed by horse and by the state they raced in. The number of individual horses participating over this period was calculated by aggregating starts against horses' names and uniquely identifying each horse using the RA horse search. The home state of each horse and trainer was identified by matching horses to trainers and identifying the trainer's place of residence from the addresses shown for official qualified trainers. The information generated included starts per state, as well as the

number of starts by each trainer. My analysis also identified horses that only raced in hurdles, those that competed in hurdles and steeplechases and those that competed only in steeplechases.

Horse falls and fatality rates were calculated by dividing the number of falls and fatalities by the total number of starts in all races for each season and in the overall sample. Only race fatalities were included in the analysis; training and trial fatalities were not considered, as this data was not publicly available. The average number of starts in each race was calculated by dividing the total number of jumps race starts by the total number of races. A trainer, operating both in a partnership and also in their own name, was counted as two separate entries.

4.6. Desk-top and archival research

I drew on a wide scope of data sources that provided both historical, as well as contemporary information about jumps racing. For example, arguments in favour of jumps racing or opposed to jumps racing, individuals closely associated with such positions, as well as basic factual information about jumps racing itself, including participants (horse and human) and their places. My data sources included internet websites; for example, official thoroughbred racing regulatory websites or sites used by both opponents and supporters of jumps racing or blog sites; race day and racing publications, such as racing club 'race books'; media articles in national and local newspapers; annual reports of racing clubs; pedigree and breed records from official sites, such as the Australian Stud Book; totaliser gambling data; and commercial websites that provided details of racing form and horse performance. On occasion, participants gave me documents dealing with aspects of jumps racing, such as their own analysis of gambling and race-day attendance, or rationales for the continuation of jumps racing. Facebook was a rich source of information on supporters and opponents of jumps racing, as were the networks and associations they operated within. As example, the public Facebook page of the anti-jumps racing organisation, The Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses, provides contact details (phone and email) for their organisation, links to their web site, as well as notification of future activities and also graphic photographs of Australian jumps races. Only public pages were used and on one occasion I sought permission from this organisation to reproduce a photograph they had placed on Facebook.

4.7. Participant observation

I observed jumps race meetings in Victoria (Vic), South Australia (SA) and New Zealand (NZ). In addition, I attended two events hosted by jumps racing bodies, a function in Melbourne at the invitation of the Australian Jumping Racing Association (AJRA) and the second in Adelaide, hosted by South Australian Jumps Racing (SAJR). Observing jumps races enabled me to develop an awareness of what these events meant to the attendees, as well as to the local community, and to build relationships with participants in the industry that facilitated recruitment for interviews. In all, I attended two Oakbank Easter carnivals, two race meetings at Warrnambool, including the May Carnival, a race day at Sandown, as well as the Cranbourne trials, three jump race meetings at Morphettville in South Australia and one race meeting in New Zealand (see McManus, Graham and Ruse 2015). (At a trial, horses complete a jumps course under race-like conditions, while monitored by stewards who assess horses for their jumping ability and competitiveness. This is an essential part of formally qualifying horses.) I also visited jumps racing stables in South Australia and Victoria. On all such field visits, I recorded what happened as it actually occurred, in the form of photographs and field notes. Photographs assisted my comparison of the various locations, aided my memory of the particular race days and of individual horses and jockeys. They also became important illustrations of particular features of jumps racing and its locations and illustrate the text of subsequent chapters. Where individual members of the public could be identified in photographs, these images have been blurred to avoid such identification. Participant observation allowed me to more fully understand the importance of place and context for the activity of jumps racing, as well as to see what people and horses did as part of their usual daily routine (Creswell 2009; Kearns 2005).

When combined with other data sources, chiefly semi-structured interviews, participant observation provides "depth and richness" (Skelton 2001, p 95) and "makes the reading experience more vivid for the reader" (Cook 2005, p 180). Another advantage is that researchers are able to see what people actually do as part of their daily activities (Kearns 2005; Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009; Winchester 2005). As part of a jumps race meeting, I was able to observe the routines of the race day, including pre- and post-race observations of horses, their trainers, jockeys, handlers and owners, as well as general race-goers. This direct observation provided me with an informed baseline of observations about race-day practices.

There are, however, some limitations with pure observation. The researcher sees only what people are doing at a particular time and in a particular place. The researcher is not, as Kearns (2005, p 205) notes, able to view "what is going on off-stage". People may also alter their behaviour if they are aware that they are being observed and their behaviour being recorded. This can be the case when a researcher is observing daily activities over an extended period of time. The majority of the race crowd and race club officials seemed unconcerned about my presence, record-taking and photographing routine activities at race meetings, and many people appeared genuinely happy to agree to my request to take photographs of them and their horses. Kearns (2005, p 201) makes the point that, in a research site, it is one's "bodily presence that identifies us as an outsider". Familiarity with horse racing and previous knowledge allowed me to comfortably blend into the racing crowd without signalling myself as a researcher. My frequent attendances at jumps race meetings made me a familiar face at jumps races in both South Australia and Victoria and enabled me to mix with the crowds and participants, and to routinely observe and record behaviours and events. Although I became a "familiar face" at race meeting through my repeated attendance, I was not personally known to any of the informants before the commencement of this study. My attendance also enabled me to meet trainers, handlers and officials from various race clubs. This helped me to recruit participants for subsequent interviews.

Not only did I observe people, I also took the opportunity to observe horses at race meetings, trials, and in their stable environments. I became familiar with the horses as individuals, with the race-day routines of a jumps racehorse, observed horses before races, in the races, in the 'walk down and cool off' period after races, and in their day-to-day training activities. I was able to complement these experiences with the interview material, press reports and official race reports. This proved to be a rich source of information about human perceptions of individual horses, their athletic performance, their behaviours, their emotions, their life histories and how they were regarded by their owners, trainers and the racing media and public. This information is a key source for including the horse as protagonist and participant, and for my subsequent exploration of the themes of horse agency and mutual affect. Becoming familiar with horse performances also helped in my subsequent interviews, particularly with those participants from within jumps racing, by demonstrating my interest in

racehorse performance and attending race meetings. This was an easy way to establish rapport and facilitate the subsequent interview dialogue.

My field notes are combined with interviews and material drawn from historical documents in the thematic analysis presented in Chapters 5 to 8.

4.8. Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were undertaken with both supporters and opponents of jumps racing in South Australia, Victoria and on one occasion, New Zealand. This method was chosen as a means of obtaining in-depth information and insight into what jumps racing meant to them, why they think people engage in jumps racing, how they think jumps racing impacts on human and horse lives and how they think this activity reflects on the relationship between horses and humans. These interviews provided a means to explore the deeply nuanced values and attitudes of the participants towards the thoroughbred racehorse and human-horse relationships.

Research interviews are essentially conversations with the purpose of understanding how people experience and make sense of their lives (Jennings 2005). Interviews can produce a deep and rich picture of particular activities, in this instance jumps racing, drawing information from people in specific contexts that could not be obtained by other methods (Teddlie and Tashakori 2009). Interviews allow researchers to identify and investigate the richness of detail that is inherent in participants' personal experiences (Creswell 2009; Jennings 2005). There are some practical limitations to the interview process, as example interviews are time-consuming (McGuirk and O'Neill 2005; Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009) and the researcher must practise reflexivity to ensure that their own influence is both appropriate and visible (Creswell 2009).

Interviews were conducted according to an informed consent protocol approved by the Tasmanian Social Science Human Research Ethics Committee. The names of potential participants were initially compiled from official jumps racing organisation websites, directories of horse trainers, racing programs listing jockeys, websites of organisations opposed to jumps racing, newspaper articles and other publicly available sources.
I developed a list of people and publicly available addresses of participants in jumps racing, including approved trainers and jockeys in South Australia and Victoria, racing

clubs, the Australian Jumping Racing Association, racing regulators, such as Racing Victoria and Thoroughbred Racing South Australia. I also performed searches of conventional and social media to identify groups opposed to jumps racing, such as The Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses (CPR) and the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty for Animals (RSPCA, South Australia). I contacted individuals via publicly available contact details to introduce myself and the aims of my research. This was then followed by a written letter inviting them to take part in my research project. Everyone who agreed to be interviewed was provided with a written description of the aims and objectives of my research (Appendix 1), as well as information regarding their rights to terminate the interview at any stage, and a guarantee of confidentiality. All participants signed a consent form prior to the interview (Appendix 2).

Recruitment of participants initially proved to be difficult. Only three interviews were obtained through the initial round of invitations, with both sides of this debate proving reticent. Many people involved in thoroughbred racing were simply reluctant to comment on anything to do with jumps racing, citing their concerns about the current debate and, in some instances, were somewhat hostile, given the adverse publicity the debate has publicly attracted. This was especially the case in South Australia once the racing minister announced that he wished to end jumps racing in that state. This low initial response rate caused me to engage in more time-consuming means of recruitment based on relationship building and careful judgement. Some four months into recruitment, the chair of the Oakbank Racing Club extended an invitation to me to attend the launch of the 2015 Australian jumps race season in Melbourne. While there, I was introduced to key influential people associated with jumps racing. This proved to be an important step, allowing me to make personal contact and facilitating subsequent recruitment of a diverse and substantial sample

Over the course of the 2015 jumps racing season (March to September), I undertook 23 semi-structured interviews with administrators, trainers, jockeys, spectators, racing commentators, journalists and people associated with anti-jumps racing groups.
I conducted four interviews with opponents of jumps racing, representing welfare and activist organisations, as well as one interview with a public figure opposed to the activity. Supporters included racing club officials, such as owners, trainers, strappers and jockeys, official racing photographers, stewards and racing regulatory officials.

Eight interviews were conducted in South Australia, 12 in Victoria, two in New South Wales and one by telephone with a participant domiciled in New Zealand. I ceased recruitment when the sample included representation in all key categories of participant and opponent, as identified in the initial desk-top survey. Participants ranged from around 30 years old to over 70 years old, and were drawn from both South Australia and Victoria, and also included both male and female participants. The ratio of male to female participants is consistent with the predominance of males in thoroughbred racing, reflecting lesser numbers of female jockeys and trainers, compared to males.

Gender		Age grouping in years				State				Domicile		Attitude		
M	F	30s	40s	50s	>60	Vic	SA	NSW	NZ	City	Country	Pro	Con	Neutral
18	5	4	5	4	10	13	8	1	1	14	9	17	5	1

Table 4-1: Interview participants by gender, age, state, domicile and attitude

Interviews were conducted face-to-face and one-to-one at a location and time chosen by the interviewee. In one instance, the wife of a participant remained in the room throughout the interview. Interviews followed a consistent, semi-structured approach. I commenced each interview by introducing myself and the purpose of my study. I then invited each interviewee to "tell me something about yourself and how you became involved in jumps racing"; or, for opponents of jumps racing, "how did you become involved in the debate and opposition to jumps racing?" According to Chamaz (2006), starting an interview with descriptive questions such as "how', "what", "when" or "tell me about" yields rich data, as it permits participants as open an opportunity as possible to reflect on the phenomena under study.

I acknowledged from the outset, that to some extent, my position as researcher was subjective. I therefore used standardised scripts of interview questions, approved by the University of Tasmania Human Research Ethics Committee for each interview, thereby providing an underpinning consistent approach, both across and within interviews with various participants. Secondly, and importantly, reflexivity was an essential component of my analysis of interviews, both methodologically and epistemologically. Although some of the questions were closed - for example, 'how long have you been involved in …' - the majority were open-ended. During the interviews, participants often spoke

about their recollections of the past, friendships and the importance of jumps racing, or of individual horses, their families and their communities. Opponents of jumps racing routinely raised concerns about the welfare of horses and that horse's deaths and injuries were no longer regarded by the broader society as acceptable. I adapted how I posed my questions in individual interviews in light of material provided by participants and the research sub-question most relevant to the discussion at that point. The strength of feeling of participants for the topic of jumps racing was obvious throughout most interviews, through body language and speech patterns, as well as through explicit content. One participant became so animated and enthusiastic with my question about which horses he thought I should focus on, that he took my pen and wrote up a list for me of his 'favourites'. Another participant thumped the table when he discussed his own horses.

With participant consent, interviews were recorded on a digital hand-held reorder and ranged from 30 to 75 minutes, with a median duration of 55 minutes. Two participants requested that I did not record them. I took notes of these conversations as they occurred. Interviews were transcribed verbatim by a professional provider approved by the University of Tasmania. Care was taken to accurately record nuances of the conversation, including humour, laughter, sighs and silences. Verbal pauses, such as ums and aahs, were omitted from the record. The resultant transcription was then entered into an NVivo database (QSR International, version 10) for filing and subsequent analysis. Each interviewee was allocated a pseudonym in order to protect her/his anonymity and to comply with the requirements of the UTas Human Research Ethics' Committee approved protocol. Those horses owned by individual participants were also given pseudonym to protect their identity and that of the participant.

I used the qualitative data analysis database, NVivo, for data analysis and storage throughout the research. NVivo allowed me to manage large amounts of data, order and file interviews and to annotate individual interviews with a linked memo so that I could store a short record of my own thoughts and comments against associated transcripts. I also used NVivo to store photographs taken at particular locations as well as my field notes. To begin my analysis of my interviews, I listened to the recording of each interview and then read the transcript to ensure that it was correctly transcribed. I also annotated any parts of the text where nuances of expression were noticeable; for example, laughter, sighs, gaps, grief and anger that informed my investigations of

emotion, affect and horse agency. I read and re-read the transcripts to note areas of especial interest. Anything that I thought was especially noteworthy about the conversation, the respondent or their relationship with an individual horse was annotated with a linked NVivo memo for that interview.

4.9. Thematic analysis

NVivo provided a first step to investigate the content of my interviews by employing broad codes, for example "safety", which helped to then order my subsequent search for patterns and themes (Patton 2002). Thematic analysis is regarded as a 'foundational method for qualitative analyses' (Braun and Clark 2006, p 78). Thus, for example the open code of safety was later the basis for analysis of the theme of 'improving the safety record'.

To guide the development of my open codes, I looked to the relevant literature, informed by my desk-top research and my research questions. Such codes, were, thus, primarily descriptive in nature; for example, 'safety', 'economics' and 'politics' as well as a broad code called 'horses'. The subsequent construction of themes was primarily analytical, driven by interview material and informed by document analysis and participant observations. Prevalence or whether or not a theme was 'key' was established by asking 'whether it captured something important in relation to the overall research question' (Braun and Clarke 2006, p 82). Generally speaking, analysis occurs at different points within the research process, given that a researcher is constantly analysing the data and thinking about links to both the method and theory, while undertaking the field work. This meant that I was moving back and forth, inductively and deductively, between the collected data and the theoretical framework of my research, involving an iterative process to finalise particular themes (Crang 2005).

I developed new understandings of my interview material, in the form of emergent themes, from the transcripts. As themes emerged, it became clear that experiences related to the horse were more prevalent than I had anticipated. Therefore, I broke the analysis into three parts: themes related to horse-human interaction, themes related to individual horses and themes related to jumps racing itself. Although themes, such as agency and affect, emerged from my interview analysis, the development of these themes was informed by a definition of affect from Nosworthy (2013, p 59) as a

"mutual process where both human and horse are affected by the other in bodily encounters and shared activities, resulting in the development of an emotional relationship". I also relied on Scott's description of agency as "the intentional exertion of power, involving more than merely action or reaction, rooted in free will and expressed through behaviours" (Scott 2009, p 47). This led me to identify emotion as a further theme, including its sub-themes of affection, love, grief, grieving and trust.

4.10. Narrative analysis

I used the technique of narrative analysis to unravel and describe components of the lives lived by jumps horses as represented by interview participants. Narrative analysis provided a different form of analysis of my interview material. My narrative analysis presents the life stories of horses derived from interpreting the form and content of my interview material and the close entanglement of human and horse lives within jumps racing. According to Patton (2002, p 116), narrative analysis offers "especially translucent windows into cultural and social meanings". Narrative analysis centres around stories of life experiences as narrated by those who live them (Chase 2010). Although these are usually stories of individuals, narrative analysis can include stories of groups, societies and cultures (Reissman 2008). Although stories are at the centre of narrative analysis and in-depth interviews are the most common source of narrative data, key documents, life histories, memoirs, blog sites, letters to the editor, even photographs and field notes, can also be sources of data (Chase 2010).

My review of literature offered assistance with this analysis. Narrative analysis is used in a diverse range of qualitative research, including perceptions of new technologies, the debate about climate change and human-non-human relationships, including aspects of pet keeping and horse-human relationships (Davies and McNaughton 2010; Davison 2008; Denniss and Davison 2015, Power 2012, 2008; Schuurman 2014). The source material is most commonly semi-structured in-depth interviews and personal stories generated in research interviews although as emphasised by Reissman (2008), narratives can involve a wide range of source material including archival information as well as visual media such as paintings, photographs and movies. The use of in-depth narrative analysis can inform subsequent detailed research, compensate for small sample sizes, assist with difficult policy issues and also contribute to a sense of place as part of the human-animal relationship. Narrative analysis includes a family of methods

for interpreting texts that in practice are not mutually exclusive, and that can be adapted and combined.

In her 2012 paper, Power used narrative analysis of in-depth interviews with dog owners to revisit the domestication of dogs and changes in pet-keeping practices since the 1980s. In doing so, she approached domestication as a profoundly geographic experience, as much about where and how species meet. Her narrative analysis was grounded in the everyday practices of familiar spaces, such as the home, and she reflects on everyday intimacies and knowledge at individual owner and societal levels. In doing so, she situated pet keeping and dog ownership within a broader, political, societal, cultural and economic context, thereby addressing an absence that exists in contemporary analyses of pet love (Nast 2006). Schuurman (2014) used narrative analysis of publicly available material in blog sites and personal, but not private, information, to investigate the situated horse-human relationships, the shared events of the everyday and the 'rules' concerning acceptable emotions in specific situations and locations. By interpreting horses' actions and emotions in specific settings, place becomes part of how the horse-human relationship is constructed. Narrative analysis, through stories, offered an especially translucent window into the cultural and social meanings (Paton 2002) of jumps racing to particular communities (Polkinghorne 2007) and the moral complexities underlying the attitudes of supporters and opponents. My goal in using participant narratives and narrative analysis was to generate detailed accounts rather than brief answers to questions and encourage participants to speak in their own ways. This technique was also especially important in exploring the life histories of particular horses and their relationships with humans.

Chapter 5: The past of Australian jumps racing

5.1. Introduction

Chapter 5 presents 'the past' of Australian jumps racing, based upon thematic analysis of the personal life-histories of participants involved in Australian jumps racing. Participants ranged in age from 30 to more than 70 years old (see Table 4.1). Their lived memory therefore encompasses the period from about 1950. I use 2009 as the boundary for defining the past. While any such boundary is partially arbitrary, 2009 marked a significant event, Racing Victoria's decision to stop jumps racing in the middle of the season after three horses were killed on the first day of the Warrnambool May carnival. As I subsequently show, 2009 was acknowledged by participants as a significant cusp for Australian jumps racing.

Historical contextualization forms an important part of the process of qualitative research (Given 2008). The history of Australian jumps racing reveals much about the ways in which horses have been valued, and how these values may have changed or endured over time. This historical enquiry addresses several research sub-questions, but particularly Sub-Question 1: What economic, social, cultural and political histories have shaped jumps racing in contemporary Australia? My analysis also informs Sub-Question 2: How have differences between locations, scales of activity shaped the identity of jumps racing both within racing and for particular places?

As noted in Chapter 3, the community of Australian jumps racing is relatively small and organised around a small number of key places, events, organisations, and individuals, both horses and humans. The interview sample of jumps racing participants is thus not a random or loose aggregation of individuals. All participants had many shared points of reference and, indeed, some would have been known to each other personally. Their shared interest in horses and in jumps racing leads to a social bond between participants that is emotional as well as pragmatic. As suggested by Strathern (1991), the relationship between people and horses is performative of identity.

The focus of this chapter is participant recollections of the past of jumps racing interpreted in the light of six themes developed from the interviews, but also informed by my consideration of relevant literature and my research questions. I discuss the past of Australian jumps racing through analysis of the following six themes.

Theme 1:'It's in the blood'
Theme 2:'Those people have always been involved in it'
Theme 3: Valuing places, races and traditions
Theme 4:'Jumps racing was just everywhere'
Theme 5: A changed environment
Theme 6: Changing attitudes

5.2. 'It's in the blood'

Previous research has shown how shared beliefs and concepts relating to horses, including social, cultural and political understandings of horses, and horse related activities, can contribute to a strong sense of community (Keaveney 2008). The shared understandings of concepts such as equine care and welfare, the ideal of a working human-horse relationship and with this, the intrinsic value of horses to people, places horses as central to such communities and lifestyles. Like-minded, ordered communities of humans and 'their' horses are established through shared understanding of daily roles and specialised practices (Latimer and Birke 2009). A network of relations is established through the sharing of knowledge surrounding care or experiences with horses, common interests in a particular horse or blood-line, membership of the same horse-related organisations and participation in shared activities and traditions. My research locates Australian jumps racing within a community of shared understandings and practices about thoroughbred horses. My analysis identifies diverse and enduring values that contribute to the living history of Australian jumps racing and a distinct sub community of horse practices within thoroughbred racing.

Interviews explored how many participants became involved in jumps racing and through this how identities are formed and represented within this activity. These interviews reveal that a family history that included owning, working or training horses for competition, leisure, or racing was often associated with participation in jumps racing, particularly as a jockey or trainer. The knowledge required to function effectively as a trainer or jockey of jumps horses was, in several instances, a process of enculturation inherited through families and horse-centred networks. Many participants had spent their entire adult lives within the 'world of horses' or horse racing, including jumps racing. Their personal identities were constructed through their involvement with thoroughbred horses and horse racing. For some participants, their identity within horse

racing was primarily constructed through their participation in jumps racing and the social relationships therein.

Consider Harry, aged in his early 40s, who today owns and trains three jumpers on a part-time basis from his rural home near Warrnambool. Harry grew up on a dairy farm in the western districts of Victoria and reported that he had "*always been around horses, all my life".* Harry started riding 'track work', the physical conditioning of thoroughbred horses for racing, when he was 12 years old, for a Warrnambool trainer who was in partnership with his grandfather: *"Him and my grandfather used to race a few horses together and I used to go over there riding weekends with him in school holidays and that's how I got into riding the racehorses*". Harry was a 15 year old teenager when he gained his amateur jockey licence and competed in picnic races and point to point races before gaining a trainers licence when he was 17 years old. He could still recall his first race season when he competed his own horses as an amateur jockey:

> *I rode, I think I had 4 flat rides and 18 point to point rides in the first season I was riding. And I rode 3 winners and a handful of seconds and thirds, and actually the first winner I ever rode was on my own horse….Mr Fin was his name. We were going to win the last point to point, the last race of the season, and we were about 20 lengths in front when we fell at the second last* [laugh] *jump. And if I had of won that race, I would have won the amateur jumps jockeys title that year, yeah. But I missed out because of that fall.*

Similarly, Ollie a long standing jumps trainer *"was born into the industry"* in the mid-nineteen forties. His grandfather, a *"very successful trainer,"* and his father, a jockey then later a trainer, *"were a great combination in the north-east of Victoria, at Benalla"* the town where Ollie also started his jumps racing career. Ollie rode in races from the age of 13 as an amateur apprentice jockey for his father. (At that time an amateur jockey could ride in most races but not receive prize money). Ollie, as did several other participants, entered jumps racing through horse-based fox hunting (see Chapter 3). He explains:

> *Hunt Clubs were very much in fashion in them days. We used to be a member of the Murray Valley Hunt Club, which was at Rutherglen. We thought it was great*

fun to go up a Sunday, go up and hunt with the senior riders and a lot of junior riders, and made a lot of friends. They're a unique group of people that did have jumping horses. That part of it, the camaraderie and the people that I've met over the years, incredible, through jumping.

Ollie attributed the experiences gained through hunt clubs with educating or training horses for jumps racing: *"it was hunting that made the horse learn to jump properly".* Hunting provided the "*foundation"* for jumps racing, in terms of the skill of both horses and jockeys, and also introduced new generations of horses and humans to these traditional sports. Just as hunting was important for its camaraderie and friendships, so too was jumps racing. For Ollie, jumps racing was an important social activity, and he recalled his memories of meeting up with friends in Melbourne at jumps race meetings: "*I used to meet up with* - [X] *and some of her friends - they'd come to the Flemington for the National. All old mates of ours - we'd all meet there, down the bottom bar, and have a few drinks and tell a few lies - but now there's none of that now*".

The traditional activity of fox hunting provided a recreation for many people involved in jumps racing and some hunted jumps horses as a supplement to routine training over obstacles. Bill accompanied his 15 year old son to their local Pony Club (an association which teaches young people to ride horses, throughout Australia) on his steeplechaser. Liam had always hunted the jumps horses he trained several times a week with his local Hunt Club during the jumps race season. Three participants regularly hunted former steeplechasers for pleasure during the hunt season. These interviews revealed that some jumps horses could on occasion compete in a steeplechase on a Saturday or Sunday, and attend Pony Club on a Sunday or hunt several times a week during the hunt season. This concurrent use of horses for sport and leisure as well as for professional racing marks jumps racing, as a distinct equine sub-community within thoroughbred racing. The social networks of jumps racing are also broader than the local environs of horse racing and the race track and traditional activities such as hunting contribute to establishing an identity and social relationships within jumps racing that differ from those of thoroughbred flat racing.

A young age of entry, and a continuous involvement with horses and horse racing, also characterised some participants. For example Ricky, a current and successful jumps

jockey in his early 30s, entered as "*a 16 year old after year 10* [*high school*], [when he] *had 5 cross country horses in work*" and gained a jockey apprenticeship with a race horse trainer, reflecting a standard entry pathway to an apprenticeship as a jockey. Cathy, also in her early thirties, described herself as being "*from a non-horsey family*". As a 12-year-old, she commenced "*just doing yards and stuff"* with a local Warrnambool thoroughbred trainer who "*put us on a racehorse, and it started from there. That's how I got into racing"*. Her involvement with jumps racing started because she loved jumping, a skill she learned at her local Pony Club. Cathy also combined love of jumping with a love for the type of horse she associated with jumps racing: *"I was doing Pony Club and eventing and stuff, so always loved to jump. I've just always had a respect for a jumping horse because they're bigger, they're tougher and they've just - I don't know what it is about them, but I just love a jumping horse"*.

The longer term human involvement with jumps racing was also reflected in those who attended jumps races as spectators rather than competitors. Monty had recently returned to Australia after living many years in the UK and attending jumps racing in that country. He was enthusiastically 'pro jumps racing'. For Monty, part of the attraction of Australian jumps racing was its history and tradition, in a country that he opined has "*so little tradition*". For Monty, attending jumps race meetings was a family tradition. As a child, Monty has always attended the Oakbank Easter Racing Carnival and *"went with my parents, my sister when we were, when we were tiny".* Monty's comments reflect the historic duality of continuity and change through his family's attendances at Oakbank. His family tradition continues across the generations but, "*now my sister drags her kids unwillingly, but she drags them along. So there's that whole generation thing. I'm sure you could meet hundreds and thousands of people at Oakbank who are third, fourth, fifth generation goers and that's all part of it as well*".

The concept of continuity of traditional attendance was also echoed by Doug, in relation to a particular individual who has attended the Oakbank Racing Carnival for over 90 years:

> *there was one guy there last year, and he was interviewed on television and he was 95 or 96 and he was like three months old when he first went, when the family brought him on, on that patch of land, and he's been coming back ever*

since. So there are those traditional people that that have always done it that way.

5.3. 'Those people have always been involved in it'

In the preceding section, jumps racing is characterised as a sub-set of practices within thoroughbred racing, its cultural and social identity formed through close association with traditional activities such as hunting and continuity of family involvement. As described in Chapter 2, horse racing has long been associated with societal status and wealth. Many of the early officials and founders of Australian horse racing were part of the colonial elite and wealthy landowners. Especially in Victoria, such family links continue to connect the descendants of some elite, wealthy colonial families and early racing administrators with contemporary thoroughbred jumps racing.

Interviews revealed that the history of jumps racing was associated with markers of societal wealth and status. Eddie described his views of a strong connection between jumps racing, colonial families and rural communities: "*It is a country activity because when you think about it why Warrnambool is important, Warrnambool is where most of the English hierarchy lived when they came out here, the big families - the Armitages, the Manifolds, the Chirnsides".* Jim explained that many people who were associated with jumps racing were distinguished by their connections to the earliest farming families of Western Victoria, people he described as a "*squattocracy"* and "*old money*". This term "*squattocracy*" is a play on the term aristocracy and, as used by Jim, refers to the political and social power of early colonial '*squatters*' who became rich by exploiting and grazing large tracts of Crown land as the first, and often only European settlers.

> *Those people have always been involved in it. You saw them, they were at the Grand National meeting and they were at the Melbourne Cup meeting. Yeah, they were wealthy families. Off the land. They were sort of the squattocracy. That goes right back to the start, like the McArthur family and people like that, who have always been there, the Armitages and those sorts of people.*

Fred viewed jumps racing as *"part of the history of the white settlement in Australia"* and strongly connected to the regional farming and grazing communities of western Victoria in a 'hub' centred on Warrnambool. Fred expressed nostalgia and sentiment in

his comments about the significance of jumps racing to the regional farming communities and its traditional horsemanship values including courage and endurance (see Chapter 3).

> *If you go back many of the farmers and squatters and stock hands of the previous centuries built their reputation on their ability to ride and their ability to ride over the jumps, endurance, and going where there are no rails and its genuinely about the skill of the horse and the skill of the rider and having the endurance… a great test of the horse and jockey.*

Fred then nostalgically connected jumps racing with the noted nineteenth century Australian romantic poet Adam Lindsay Gordon, who also competed in steeplechases in both South Australia and Victoria and was also a member of the South Australian parliament: "*We have Adam Lindsay Gordon, a great steeplechaser from this part of the world, so there's a great history and culture of the steeplechasing horse. It's reminiscent of what many early settlers were looking for in the sort of people that built this land".*

Gordon's poems romanticised both rural Australia and Australian steeplechasing (Kramer 1972) and he remains celebrated by rural communities in south-eastern Australia, as, for example, in the town of Mount Gambier in South Australia (Figure 5.1). This lingering sense of nostalgia and regard for traditional nineteenth century horsemanship and its values was reflected in the decision to admit Gordon into the Australian Jumping Racing Association (AJRA) 'Jumps Racing Hall of Gallery of Champions' in 2012 (Country Arts 2014, Hill 2014).

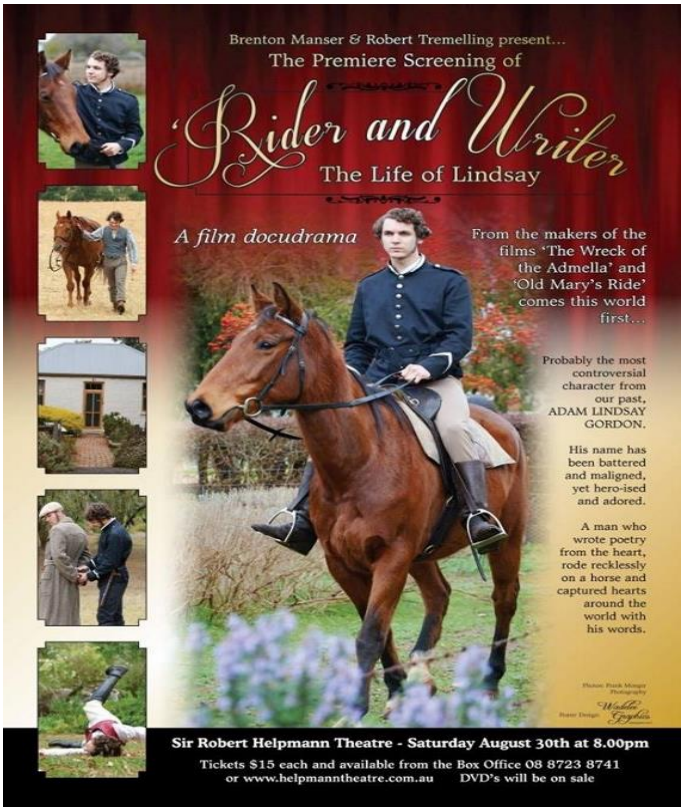

Figure 5-1: Poster for the film Rider and Writer, Mt Gambier South Australia (Image Credit: Country Arts 2014)

For Jim, the "*diehard*"" supporters of jumps racing had a specific appearance that signalled their social status by their style of dressing at race meetings signalling they lived in the rural communities of regional western Victoria. His comments suggest markers of class and status, in that he associates "*western districts people"* or those coming from the western areas of rural Victoria with the elite 'member's area' of Flemington race course and traditional attendances at prestigious races such as the Melbourne Cup:

> *Years ago the diehard supporter used to go to all the big meetings in Melbourne. There were two types. There were the Western Districts people who came up to all the major Melbourne jumps meetings, probably came up seven or eight times a year. They also came up Cup week. You could tell them because the Western Districts people had a style of dress. You could see them in the members at Flemington. You could pick them a mile away. But someone from Benalla or Gippsland you wouldn't pick them as easily. But they wore sports jackets, yeah, the tweeds, a lot of them wore the tweeds. But they dressed in a way - you could tell they were from the Western District of Victoria.*

The role of social status in jumps racing was also noted by Dianna, a confirmed opponent of jumps racing. In her view, the history of jumps in South Australia racing continues to celebrate social privilege, wealth and class distinctions:

> *the old school tie and the connections and the access to wealth and privilege that exists in this industry is enormous. I've a friend who came up with the term called OAF's, old Adelaide families. And there's a lot of Old Adelaide Families, it's all old Adelaide prestige and privilege. They're there.*

Dianna also implied a continuing historic link between "*third generation politicians in this place and old Adelaide prestige and privilege"*. Here Dianna is reflecting on the history of South Australia and South Australia thoroughbred racing, where a few elite, privileged colonial families, established South Australian thoroughbred racing, and their descendants are now third generation members of South Australia's parliament, racing club members, thoroughbred owners and supporters of jumps racing.

5.4. Valuing places, races and traditions

Chapter 3 identified a strong and continuing association between jumps racing and its historical locations, especially Oakbank in South Australia and Warrnambool in western Victoria. The interviews revealed an affective bond between people, place and setting associated with jumps racing, often connected with nostalgic memories of a golden time; what Tuan (1974) called 'topophilia'. The locations of Oakbank and Warrnambool held particular meaning for many participants who consistently associated these locations with a more vibrant period of jumps racing compared with the present. The Oakbank Easter Jumping Carnival has been promoted as a picnic race meeting since its inception in 1876, a traditional South Australian Easter recreation and carnival (Figure 5.2 and Figure 5.3, Freedman and Lemon 1987). For Doug, "*Oakbank have that event tradition but also have the whole tradition thing. Oakbank has always been known as a picnic race meeting and in actual fact in the earlier days it was the largest picnic race meeting in the world".*

Figure 5-2: Crowds at the Oakbank races, 1914, (Image Credit: State Library of South Australia).

Figure 5-3: Crowds at the Oakbank Race Course 1990. The green screen was placed around a horse injured in the Great Eastern Steeplechase (Image credit: State Library of South Australia)

Doug's memories of Oakbank Racing Club included attendances "*close to 100,000 people there over 2 days at Easter time*" ensuring that the Club itself was "*vibrant*" because of the high attendances. Oakbank Racing Club maintain many traditions associated with the early years of Australian jumps racing, including live hedges and traditional obstacles such as the 'fallen log' and symbolic historic mementoes on display in in public areas (see Figure 5.4) .

Figure 5-4: Horseshoes of the winner of each Great Eastern Steeplechase since 1876, Oakbank Race Course, public bar. (Photograph by author)

Since 1876, the 'fallen log' has been jumped in all Oakbank steeplechases (Figures 5.5 & Figure 5.6). Oakbank Racing Club continues to include jumping the fallen log in the Great Eastern and von Doussa steeplechases. This log has become symbolic of the tradition of Oakbank jumps racing. As put by Doug:

> *The fallen log is a traditional thing. If you go back and look at some of the old photographs, we had brick walls, we had everything else that was in the steeplechase in those days. But the fallen log is a tradition that we don't want to move away from. The fallen log's the heart of it* [laugh] *that's the essence of it. It's, you know, it's, I suppose it's almost quite parochial: it's a South Australian*

thing. It's what South Australian people do and we use a log fence and its steep [laugh], *there's that as well.*

Figure 5-5: Jumping the famous Fallen Log at Oakbank Racing Club during the 1913 Great Eastern Steeplechase (Image credit: State Library of South Australia)

Figure 5-6: The Fallen Log, Oakbank 2015. The 'log' has been used continuously in the Great Eastern Steeplechase since 1876. (Photograph by author)

For many participants, there was also an inherent rhythm to each racing year, with the movement between jumps racing locations choreographed by the annual calendar. Jim associated Easter with attending Tasmanian jumps racing at the Deloraine race course;

> *Deloraine was* [emphasis] *Easter. Then the horses from Deloraine went to Warrnambool and it had a flow on. The Deloraine meeting was - outside of the Launceston Cup - the next biggest meeting in the north of Tasmania. So a very good meeting* [Easter Monday]. *Great traditions, a lot of bookies and it was a real fun day*.

5.5. 'Jumps racing was just everywhere'

Across the interviews, the past of jumps racing was remembered as a more vibrant time, associated with larger crowds, more frequent race days and more racing clubs, especially in regional and rural locations. Jumps racing was recalled as being held at a greater number of locations, particularly rural towns close to Warrnambool and a longer racing season that was "*conducted right throughout the year*". Kevin recalled attending jumps races at "*Penshurst, Warrnambool, Terang, Hamilton, Dunkeld, just depends what the racing schedule was and you'd have jumps in December and January at Penshurst, Terang New Year's Day, and Penshurst on Boxing Day, Warrnambool, Woodfords a tenant club of Warrnambool, they had jumps racing"*. According to Kevin, "*jumps racing was just everywhere*".

Jim recalled in almost the same words as Kevin that in 1976 "*there were jumps races on everywhere*". Jim claimed that in 1978 jumps racing was "*six per cent of Victorian racing and there was a hurdle race or a steeplechase on every program in Victoria, except in the north of the state. In the winter - from March right through to Cup time, there were jumps races on every program*" and there were *"over 200 races a year*". Jim also recalled many more venues especially in the metropolitan areas of Melbourne and a longer racing season: "*We had four metropolitan tracks running them or three metropolitan tracks; a lot more venues around the state running them; the season went a lot longer".* He believed that jumps race meetings at Flemington attracted large crowds and the Grand National steeplechase day was, "*outside of the Victoria Racing Club's carnival days, one of their biggest days of the year".*

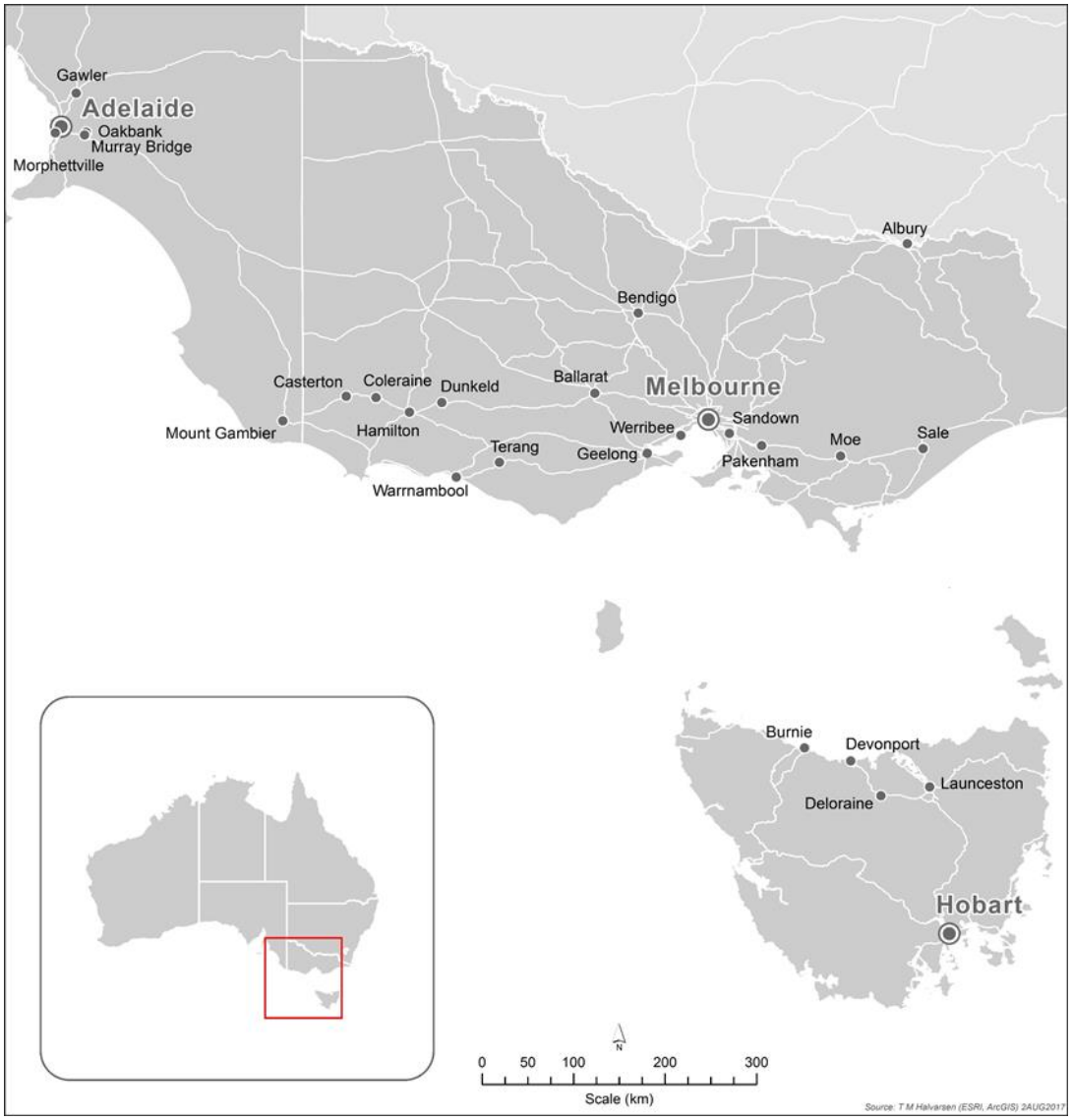

Figure 5-7: Selected historic locations of jumps racing Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania (Map credit, Mr Tim Halvorsen)

Kevin also recalled how busy the betting ring at the Warrnambool May Racing Carnival used to be in the early 1980s, reflecting the attendance at this meeting and its popularity at that time:

> *When I first started, coming to the carnival back in the early 80s, there would have been 3 times as many bookmakers here. There's no doubt the landscape's changed with the corporate bookmakers, electronics. Back in those days it was the crayon and the cardboard, and the totaliser is much more efficient in issuing bets, you know quickly supplying bets and also the variety of bets. So, so no. That just gradually*

changes, but yeah I've got recollections of a hundred plus bookmakers on that grassed area. And the ring being absolutely packed.

These recollections of a decline in the number of jumps races over time are consistent with a continued decline in the number of jumps races over the period 2000 to 2009, or around a 50% overall decline and around a 60% decline in the number of Victorian races (Table 5.1). If Jim's recall is accurate, this represents around a 63% decline in the number of Victorian races from 1978 to 2009 although there are no authoritative publicly available data sources to test Jim's claim. Concomitant with a reduced number of races, the number of horses competing in jumps racing also declined by around 65%, dropping from 761 in 2000 to 254 horses in 2009 (Table 5.1). By 2008, the number of racing clubs hosting Victorian jumps racing had reduced to 10 clubs (Jones 2008).

	1999 / 2000	**2000 / 2001**	**2001 / 2002**	**2002 / 2003**	**2003 / 2004**	**2004 / 2005**	**2005 / 2006**	**2006 / 2007**	**2007 / 2008**	**2008 / 2009**	**2009 / 2010**
Races											
Vic	163	137	n/a	145	118	107	112	134	122	89	67
SA	34	28		26	25	27	24	23	24	23	28
Tas	6	7		5	8	6	6	6	0	0	0
Total	**203**	**172**		**177**	**151**	**140**	**142**	**163**	**146**	**112**	**95**
Horses											
Vic	569	515		179	307	317	531	382	326	220	164
SA	172	153		48	101	113	130	111	101	84	91
Tas	20	15		6	20	16	16	19	19	0	0
Total	**761**	**683**		**233**	**428**	**446**	**677**	**512**	**446**	**254**	**199**
Starts											
Vic	1455	1254		1196	1196	960	1015	1265	1085	683	489
SA	273	239		217	217	241	203	216	195	213	241
Tas	42	36		40	40	33	40	47	0	0	0
Total	**1770**	**1529**		**1453**	**1453**	**1234**	**1258**	**1528**	**1280**	**896**	**730**

Table 5-1: Jumps race activity 2001-2009 racing seasons. Source: Australian Racing Fact Books (ARFB) 1999-2010.

NOTES: Blank cells indicate no information provided by racing authorities. Information was unavailable to support analysis of the 2001 to 2002 season. There is no further information to ascertain whether or not the starts information for the two seasons 2002-2003 and 2003-2004 is accurate or is an error of duplication in the ARFB.

5.6. A changed environment

My interviews revealed two clear themes concerning the successive reviews and the political histories that have shaped Australian jumps racing. First, participants clearly

recalled the impact of federal and state political involvement in jumps racing. Three participants had participated in the Australian Senate Committee on Animal Welfare of 1990 reflecting their longer-term association with jumps racing. Jim, who had very clear recollections of speaking to this Committee, was surprised at their final recommendation to phase out jumps racing. In his view, this as a reflection of the changed membership of the Committee between when they spoke with him and when the report was finalised, rather than an issue of horse welfare: "*When they interviewed us about the jumps racing there were two Tasmanian Senators and a Victorian, and they were all real pro it. They came to Sandown and they were still okay with it*". According to Jim, "*all the knowledge that had been gathered by these other people wasn't really in the formulation of the report. So - quite surprisingly, the Senate Select Committee … came out with the recommendation to all state governments to phase out jumps racing*". Jim viewed the banning of jumps racing in NSW in 1997 as a 'flow on' from the Senate enquiry, stating that "*the legislation was drawn up based on whatever the recommendations were in the Senate. And when it came to the upper house in New South Wales, the Labor Party were in power and they moved that the Bill be passed in total.*" Jim recognised that the ban had no practical effect, given jumps racing had effectively ceased in that state in 1941, but nevertheless it was of symbolic and political importance to those who opposed jumps racing. According to Jim, "[i]*t had no effect at all. All it did was it gave the opponents something to hang their hat on and it had zero effect*".

For Victorian participants, attempts to ban jumps racing were predominantly attributed to the former Minister for Racing, Rob Hulls. According to Gary, "*the worst period*" of uncertainty for jumps racing "*was when Rob Hulls was the Minister, he was going to ban it - it was on a knife edge then*". In Gary's view, the Minister's opposition was highly personal, a reflection of the position taken by his wife, who was "*deadset against jumps racing and she was pushing this agenda. It was a horrible situation because his wife was wanting him to finish it*". In this comment, he is referring Rob Hull's wife, Carolyn Burnside, a Melbourne barrister, and member of the Victorian Bar's animal welfare panel. So great was Hulls' dislike of jumps racing that it was rumoured that he had phoned the chief executive of Racing Victoria and threatened to de-licence any racing club that held a jumps race meeting (Eddy, Spits and Cooper 2009). The uncertainty resulting from the 'Hulls era' not only affected Victorian jumps

racing but also South Australian jumps racing and South Australia's racing minister also tried to persuade South Australian racing authorities to end jumps racing (Bourke 2008). According to Ian, South Australia "*relied heavily on the Victorians"* to provide both jockeys and horses for South Australian jumps races. Given the uncertainty over this period, there was a flow on lack of investment in South Australian jumps racing "*we had no jockeys, we had no schooling facilities, and we had nothing. So you don't have an industry".* Some participants expressed views that some thoroughbred racing authorities and race clubs were at that time also keen to end jumps racing. Ian characterised the environment in 2008-2009 as "*really nasty. The industry saw jumps racing as a very minor part of racing and in fact some of the industry leaders were quite keen to get rid of jumps racing* [and they said] *jumps racing was about a couple per cent of the industry and 20 per cent of their problems".*

Jim attributed the original formation of the Society for the Promotion of Jumps Racing, later the Australian Jumping Racing Association, to the negative criticism of jumps racing in the Melbourne press. Reflecting on his personal involvement, Jim recalled: "*The Australian Jumps* [sic Jumping] *Racing Association, was formed in 1978, in response to the continual criticism that was coming of the sport in the Melbourne press. The Victoria Racing Club at the time felt that jumps racing needed to have its own spokesman and that they couldn't be seen to be the spokesman for it and act as the regulator*". However, Doug did not consider the Australian Jumping Racing Association as speaking for South Australian jumps racing, and referred to a degree of interstate tension that lead to the forming of another industry body in South Australia when there was "*a split between the Australian Jumping Racing Association and South Australia*". Doug recognised that overall control was accorded to "*the respective industry, Thoroughbred Racing South Australia here and Racing Victoria in Victoria that control it".* When the Australian Jumping Racing Association "*started charging South Australia to be partnering with them. Obviously South Australia didn't like it. So first of all, there was a split. So now there is a Jumps Racing Association South Australia as well as an Australian Jumping Race Association in Victoria*."

Jim also reflected on the end of Tasmanian jumps racing. By 2006 Tasmanian jumps racing was confined to two smaller country race clubs in northern Tasmania, at Devonport and Deloraine. Jim suggested that jumps racing was not supported by the

Tasmanian Thoroughbred Racing Council, the peak body that administers Tasmania racing or by the Launceston Racing Club, although it did one influential supported in the form of Michael Hodgman, a former Tasmanian premier, federal politician and member of the Tasmanian Turf Club. Following an internal review, the Tasmanian Thoroughbred Racing Council suspended jumps racing at the start of the 2007 Tasmanian season (Tasmanian Thoroughbred Racing Council 2007). As put by Jim:

> *Tasmanian jumps racing lost the support of the Tasmanian Turf Club. The Hobart people were never* [in favour of jumps racing] - *it had gone there about 10 years earlier. Michael Hodgman, he was the key supporter of it down in the south. Once Hodgman had gone, it had nobody in the south supporting it. It was always part of Launceston racing history, forever… But they voted against it and then it was gone, because it never had the numbers*.

5.7. Changing attitudes

One of the most pervasive and persistent themes about the past, across all participants, was that of the poor past safety record of jumps racing, and the associated high risks for both jockeys and horses. There was consensus that former higher rates of injury to horses and jockeys, and the public pressure evidenced in the Jones Report in 2008 and the 2009 decision by Racing Victoria to stop jumps racing, resulted in changes that improved the safety record of jumps racing. Ricky, a successful jumps jockey, articulated his opinion that the past was "*not jump racings 'best times'… that jump racing needed to change,"* reflecting that*, "I started when it wasn't good, it's better now."* Ricky spoke with emphasis and emotion about the period when he was an apprentice jockey in the early 2000s and the years leading up to the Jones review: "*It was terrible before the industry changed. Too many deaths, far too many. Everything that fell died. I can't remember the last time I had a fall, I was breaking my collar bone every week*." For Fred, this safety record represented jumps racing's "*dark times*" or as put by Kevin "*the safety record, was our Achilles heel."*

Prior to the 2002 Racing Victoria review of jumps racing, there were no qualification requirements for either trainers or horses to compete in jumps racing (Table 3.1). There was consensus amongst my participants that the lack of formal qualification requirements was associated with poor choice of horses and training methods and a sport at its "*lowest ebb*". Gary opined that many of the horses that were entered before

qualification requirements were introduced were: "*just a sort of broken down racehorse who wasn't quite fast enough on the flat"*. And "*a lot of the big trainers from Melbourne got fast horses off the flat and thought oh yeah we'll have a go*". As described by Fred:

> *It was more tempting for trainers to have a six or seven-year-old gelding who was a stayer who is just starting to struggle a bit in the staying races and they put him over a few jumps at training: right, we'll enter you in the jumps race the following Saturday. They weren't properly schooled, they weren't properly educated and it was the last resort for a horse that was perhaps struggling a bit*.

Consistently, participants' comments about safety and the physical construction of hurdles were consistent with the findings of Montoya, McManus and Albrecht (2012). In their analysis of media coverage of jumps racing, these authors describe a 'pro-animals frame' where jumps racing is constructed as a positive activity that has the capacity to improve its safety record and the blame for falls is placed upon either the horse itself (they make a mistake) or on the (new) style of jumps (Montoya, McManus and Albrecht 2012).

There was a consensus amongst participants that the physical construction of the hurdles and obstacles was associated with the risk of jumps racing and injuries to horses and jockeys. For example, Ricky emphatically stated that: "*We have addressed the technical stuff, redesigned the jumps, from the old timber benches with brush and the awful yellow panels, to Australian panels, these are good, and jockeys were instrumental in their redesign*". In this statement, he is referring to evidence by jockeys given to Judge Jones about a particular design of Victorian yellow brush topped hurdles and the incidence of lethal rotational falls by horses (Figures 5.7 and 5.8). Liam, a successful trainer, believed that Victorian obstacles had been inherently dangerous for as long as he had been competing jumps horses, often resulting in broken necks to horses and severe injuries to riders. He believed that the design of the older jumps was "*a terrible indictment of the knowledge"* about horses and jumping by the people who designed them:

> *The fences in Melbourne have been dangerous all my life, pretty much, and they've only just got it right the last three or four years. Those things were, they were hard up to about three foot nine inches and then the top bit of brush was*

vertical and it was as stiff as stiff. If it had been soft it wouldn't have been a problem. The horses would never have somersaulted. They just would have fallen through it. But because it was upright and it was very stiff the horses used to somersault all the time.

Eddie graphically described the types of falls he had observed with the yellow topped hurdles, comparing these to older types of falls he had observed: "*The horses were flipping over, that is they were, their front feet were hitting and they flipping over onto their backs. Before when I'd seen falls in the 80s and 90s, they tended to fall on their elbows"*.

Gary, a trainer, disliked the older 1980s' solid timber fences of hard-pressed tea tree that caused routine injuries to his horses such that: "*Every time - you'd run a horse in a race and it would take you a week patching him up from little twigs and things and bits of skin*." The yellow topped brush hurdles used in Victorian jumps racing after 2005 came in for especial criticism and were described as "*awful*", "*terrible*" and the "*stupidest thing I ever saw".* He blamed these for causing falls because horses "*were running through them virtually*" or "*were just crashing through 'em*", rather than jumping over them. Similarly, Peter described these obstacles as *"death traps. They were A-frame fences and they were traps. The turnover was way down, fatalities were up. So that was jumps racing."*

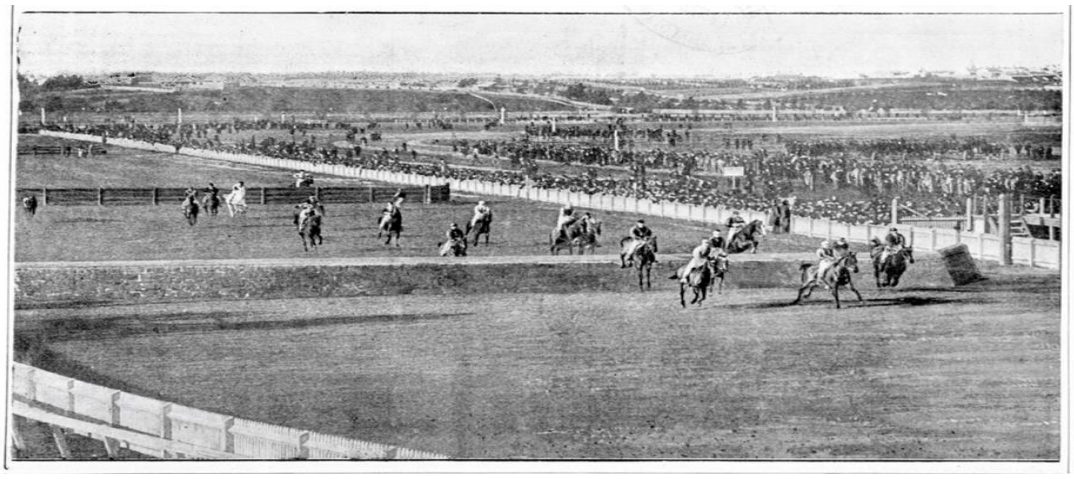

Figure 5-8: Grand National Steeplechase Melbourne 1894 showing stone fences and solid wooden panels. (Image Credit: Illustrated Australian News 1894)

Figure 5-9: Jumping the last hurdle in the George Watson Hurdle, Grand National Preview Day Flemington racecourse in Melbourne, Australia May 31, 2008. This shows the yellow topped hurdles that were associated with rotational falls and a horse about to fall after jumping. (Image credit: Getty Images),

5.8. Conclusions

Within jumps racing, being with horses is part of a way of life; human lives are structured around training horses, caring for horses, competing horses and living with horses. Some participants had spent their entire adult lives within the communities and practices of jumps racing. This shared historical or cultural connection, centered on the use of the jumps horse, can be considered similar to a kinship of horse-minded people especially in the rural communities of jumps racing. In this sense, people were often described as having an affinity with horses, that horses and jumps racing were 'in their blood' and knowledge of horses and jumps racing is "passed down, through the generations as an aspect of 'normal life' and the 'growing of children'" (Latimer and Birke, 2009 p 4).

The concurrent use of horses for sport and leisure as well as for professional racing marks jumps racing out as a distinct equine sub-community within thoroughbred racing. The social networks of jumps racing are also broader than the local environs of horse racing and the race track and traditional activities such as hunting contribute to establishing an identity and social relationships within jumps racing that differ from those of thoroughbred flat racing. There is a strong connection that links the history of jumps racing to Australia's rural communities, especially in western Victoria. This includes a sense of nostalgia about a vibrant past as well as strong historical and social

and cultural connection to iconic jumps events and locations, such as Warrnambool and Oakbank.

Since the late 1980s, jumps racing has come under public and political scrutiny due to concerns about the welfare and safety of both horses and jockeys. This reflects public awareness of and opposition to the deaths of jumps horses as well as increased political opposition and the activities of animal activist and welfare organisations that are opposed to jumps racing. Since 1990, jumps racing has been successively reviewed by government and racing authorities, resulting in the implementation of additional safety measures. There was consensus that the past safety record was unacceptable. Over the period 2000 to 2009 the number of jumps races and jumps horses declined.

Chapter 6: Australian jumps racing in the present

6.1. Introduction

This chapter considers the contemporary context of Australian jumps racing, corresponding to the period from 2009–2017. A mixed methodology is used to integrate quantitative analysis of racing industry data with thematic analysis of participant perceptions about Australian jumps racing. The quantitative analysis commences with investigation of the size, composition and locations of contemporary jumps racing. A more detailed analysis of three successive jumps racing seasons is then presented to investigate the season-to-season turnover of horse and human participants, and the safety of jumps racing. This is followed by thematic analysis of participant interviews about the present state of jumps racing, including its safety record, its people, and its social, cultural and economic relevance. These themes are informed by the interviews, research sub-questions one, two and four (see Chapter 4) and my review of relevant literature.

6.2. Jumps racing activity

Table 6.1 shows the volume of jumps racing conducted over the period between 2009 and 2016. Overall, jumps horses over this period accounted for between 0.6% and 0.7% of all Thoroughbred racehorses in Australia and less than 1.5 % of Thoroughbred races in South Australia and Victoria. Over the period of 2009-2016, the total number of jumps races has remained relatively steady, averaging 89 races per year (range 84-95), although South Australia shows a declining trend. In the same period, the number of individual horses involved in jumps racing each year averaged 242 (range 192-269). Consistent with the decline in number of South Australian jumps races, the population of South Australian jumps horses decreased from a high of 96 in the 2010/2011 season to 53 horses by the 2015/2016 season. The overall number of horses starting a jumps race ranged from a high of 730 (2009/10) to a low of 609 (2013/2014). Jumps racing appears to have achieved a period of relative stability, compared with the significant decline in participation and activity levels between 2000 and 2008 (see Table 6.1). However, in South Australia, the number of jumps horses and jumps starters declined to a low point in 2016 (see Table 6.1).

	2009 / 2010	2010 / 2011	2011 / 2012	2012 / 2013	2013 / 2014	2014 / 2015	2015 / 2016	Average 2009-16
Victoria	67	60	69	70	65	66	70	67
South Australia	28	26	23	22	19	21	20	23
Total jumps races	**95**	**86**	**92**	**92**	**84**	**87**	**90**	**89**
Total Aust. races	19,396	18,888	19,168	19,534	19,511	18,949	19,393	19, 263
Horses								
Victoria	164	156	178	189	183	174	197	177
South Australia	91	96	91	81	85	72	53	81
Total jumps horses	**199**	**192**	**269**	**269**	**268**	**246**	**250**	**242**
Total race horses	31,773	31,181	30,757	30,489	36,675	36,332	35,896	33,300
Starters								
Victoria	489	442	547	550	462	520	554	509
South Australia	241	212	189	160	157	144	116	174
Total jumps starters	**730**	**654**	**736**	**710**	**609**	**664**	**670**	**682**
Total Australian starters	194,736	196,258	189,415	188,326	189,259	184,800	186,141	189,848

Table 6-1**:** Jumps races, jumps horses and starters from 2009-2016 for Victoria and South Australia. Source data: Australian Racing Fact Book 2009/2010 to 20015/2016.

NOTES: The race year is defined as the period from 1 July to 30 June in the succeeding year. Averages were calculated by summing data across rows and dividing by the number of race years (7). Averages were rounded to the nearest whole number. A starter was defined as a horse who starts; that is, competes in a race. The number of starters in each state includes every horse that started in a race in that state, so that horses who travel interstate are included in more than one state total (this definition is used in the Australian Racing Fact Book). The number of horses represents all qualified horses; that is, horses who have passed the necessary qualification criteria required of each state before they can race, either in a flat race or a jumps race. The number of horses who compete in races may be less than the total number of qualified horses, as not all qualified horses may race in any year.

A more detailed analysis was undertaken of the 2012, 2013 and 2014 jumps race seasons in order to investigate the present dynamics of Australian jumps racing. As explained in Chapter 4, the data was sourced from official stewards and jumps review panel reports for each race that was conducted during those seasons. This data differs from that published by Racing Australia (Australian Racing Fact Book), as it is based on jumping seasons; that is, the time period from the first jumps race in a calendar year to the last jumps race of that year. This, therefore, allows for the more detailed season-by-season comparison of activity levels and participation rates, consistent with the race programming approach of racing authorities in Victoria and South Australia. It also facilitates the comparison of the relative safety of successive seasons, as improvements are implemented on a season-by-season basis. Although time-consuming to collect and organise, the data enabled detailed analysis of horses, locations, trainers and jockeys.

This level of analysis, including trends, is not publicly available in official racing publications (Ruse, Davison and Bridle 2015).

Over the period of 2012-2014, the majority of jumps races were held in Victoria. Only 15 of the 386 racing clubs in Australia conducted jumps racing over this period; five in South Australia and 10 in Victoria. The location of these racing clubs is shown in Figure 6.1. Australian jumps racing was concentrated in western Victorian country (rural) racing clubs. Warrnambool Racing Club, a historically important location for jumps racing, hosted 28.4% of jumps races, more than any other location, providing the present-day hub for contemporary Australian jumps racing. Only two metropolitan clubs held jumps races, accounting for 26% of races over the study period. The South Australian Jockey Club at Morphettville, Adelaide, held 44% of South Australian jumps races and 10.1% of all jumps races. The Melbourne Racing Club at Sandown, hosted 21.2% of Victoria's jumps races and 16.3% of all jumps races, including the Grand National Hurdle (total prize money of $200,000) and Grand National Steeple (total prize money of $250,000).

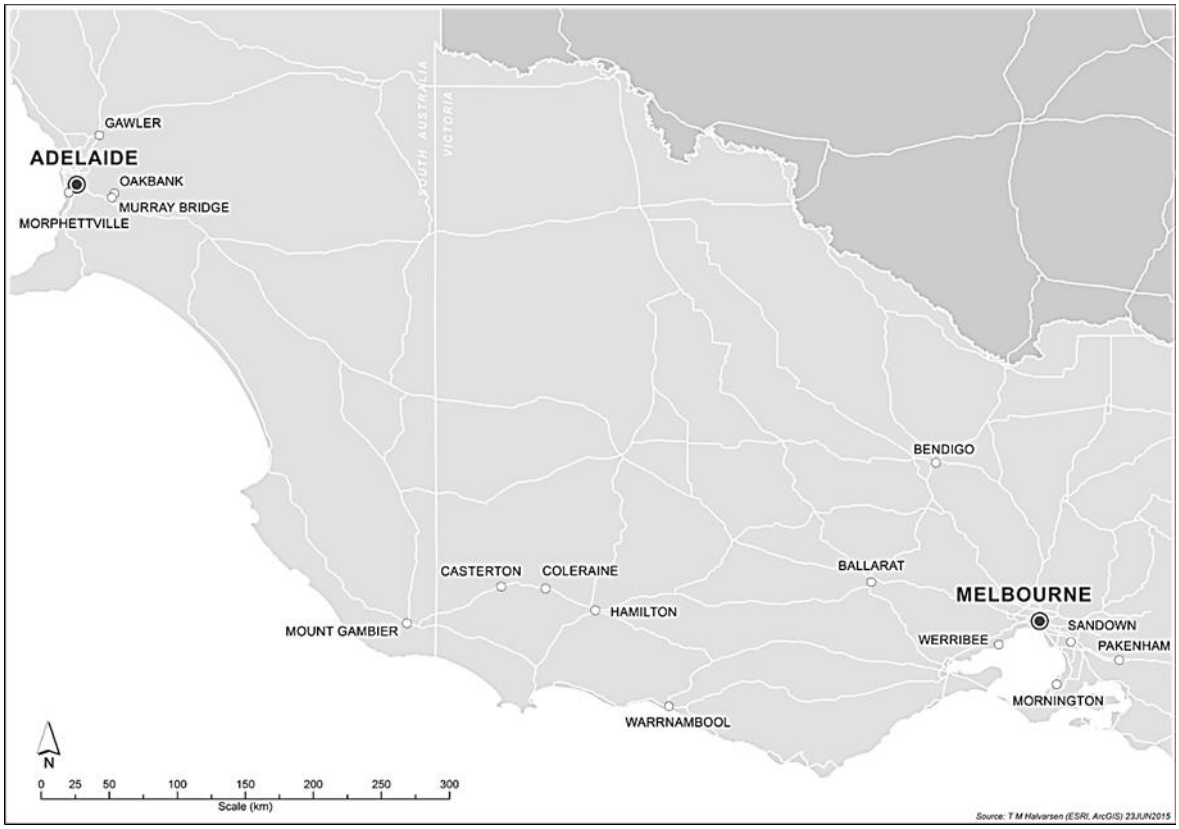

Figure 6-1**:** The location of South Australian and Victorian racing clubs hosting jumps racing during 2012-2014.

Horses

Over the jumps racing seasons in 2012, 2013 and 2014, a total of 438 individual horses competed in Australian jumps races. This analysis also identified if horses participated in hurdle racing or steeplechasing or both sub-disciplines of jumps racing. This distinction is not included in official racing publications, although research literature has indicated that this is important in assessing the safety of jumps racing (Boden *et al.* 2006). Over two-thirds of the jumps horses (302, 69%) competed only in hurdle races; just under one-quarter (99, 23%) competed in both forms of Australian jumps racing; and 37 (8%) competed only in steeplechases (see Table 6.2). Figure 6.2 shows the number of starts per horse over these three jumps racing seasons. More than half of these horses (55%) competed three times or less, with almost one-quarter (22%) competing in only one race. Another quarter raced between four and 10 times. Less than 10% of the horses competed more than 10 times, with one horse racing 32 times. The median number of race starts per horse was three, the first quartile was two starts and the fourth quartile was six starts. The range was one to 32 starts.

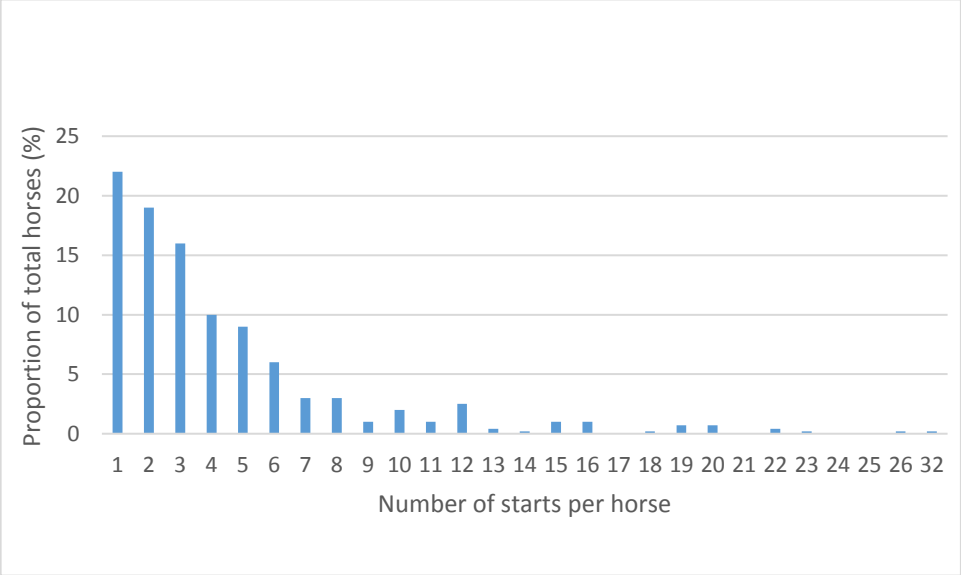

Figure 6-2**:** Proportion of horses (%) by number of jumps race starts per horse over the 2012, 2013 and 2014 seasons, South Australia and Victoria combined.

The annual turnover in the jumps horse cohort was analyzed by identifying individual horses that ran in two of the three race seasons, either in successive seasons, or in 2012 and 2014, or in all three seasons (see Table 6.2). Of the 2012 jumps horse cohort, 37% raced in 2013 and 21% raced in 2014. Only 7% of the 2012 cohort raced in 2014, but not in 2013, and only 14% raced in all three seasons. Of the 2013 cohort, 29% raced in 2014.

Number of horses 2012	Number of horses 2013	Number of horses 2014	Number of horses 2012 & 2013	Number of horses 2012 & 2014	Number of horses 2012, 2013 & 2014	Number of horses 2012 & 2014, but not 2013
176	209	195	65 (37%)	40 (21%)	27 (14%)	13 (7%)

Table 6-2**:** Australian jumps horse annual turnover from the 2012, 2013 and 2014 seasons.

NOTES: Number of horses that jump by season(s) of participation. All % figures indicate a proportion of the 2012 jumps horse cohort. Horses are counted in the cohort of each season in which they competed.

The average age of horses in the sample was 6.4 years, as of 1 March in the seasons in which they raced during the 2012-2014 period. The median age was six years, the first quartile median age was five years and the fourth quartile median age was seven years

(see Figure 6.3). Consistent with the regulatory requirement that a horse be at least three years old to begin jumps training and racing, and the time required for this training, just eight horses (2%) in the sample were aged three years in their first season of jumps racing. Twenty-five horses (7%) were aged 10 years or more. The range was three to 12 years.

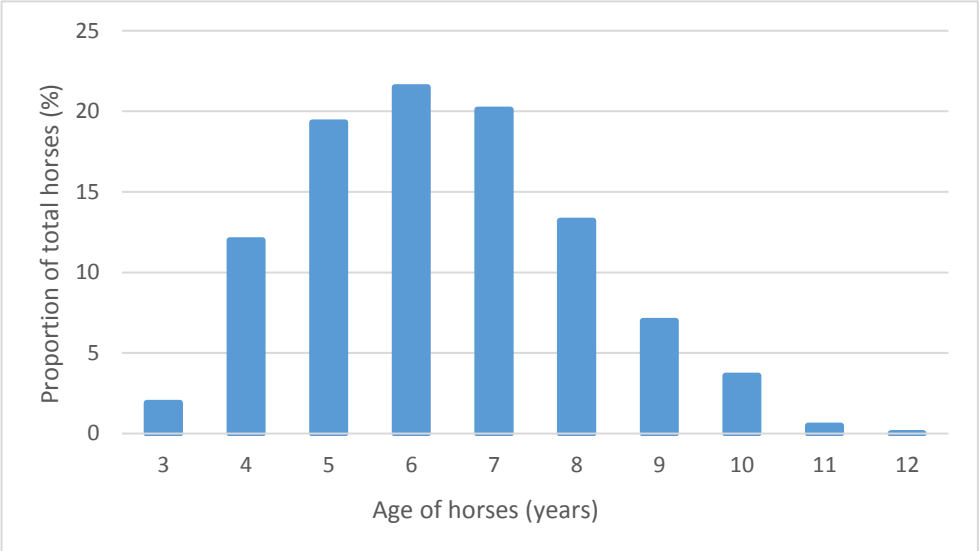

Figure 6-3: Age profile of jumps horses, as a proportion of all horses jumping during the 2012, 2013 and 2014 seasons.

NOTES: The age census date is the beginning of the jumps racing season (1 March) of each calendar year in which a horse competed. The total horse pool is the sum of the 2012, 2013 and 2014 horse cohorts, and not the number of individual horses over this period.

Trainers

In 2014, there were 4,027 registered racehorse trainers in Australia, with 914 in Victoria and 304 in South Australia (Racing Australia 2014). Only 145 trainers, less than 4% of the total, started a horse in a jumps race between 2012 and 2014 (see Table 6.3). Three-quarters (76%) of these trainers were based in Victoria (110), with 31 (21%) based in South Australia, one in New South Wales and three in New Zealand. Victorian trainers account for the majority of starts in jumps racing. A small number of prominent Victorian trainers account for a disproportionately large share of activity. Table 6.3 ranks the five most prolific trainers in Victoria and South Australia that accounted for 34% and 6%, respectively, of the jump starts in the study period. Five trainers (two Victorian, two South Australian and one New Zealander) accounted for half of the starts in South Australia, and the majority of horses in South Australian

jumps races were trained in Victoria. The most prolific Victorian trainer accounted for 20% of all starts in South Australia.

Trainer rank	Number of starts	Proportion of total starts (%)	Proportion of Victorian starts (%)	Proportion of South Australian starts (%)	Number of horses trained
Victoria					
1	231	11.7	9.2	19.9	34
2	136	6.9	7.7	4.4	21
3	135	6.9	7.3	5.5	24
4	89	4.5	5.1	2.8	25
5	79	4.0	4.8	1.5	18
South Australia					
1	67	3.5	1.0	12.1	15
2	32	1.6	0.1	6.6	3
3	10	0.5	0.2	1.5	6
4	7	0.3	n/a	1.5	3
5	7	0.3	n/a	1.5	3
New South Wales					
1	4	0.4	0.5	0	4
New Zealand					
1	33	1.7	0.6	5.2	12
2	3	0.15	n/a	0.4	2
3	1	n/a	n/a	0.2	1

Table 6-3**:** Trainer participation by location in Australian jumps racing, 2012-2014.

NOTES: Top trainers are ranked by number of starts. Only the five top ranked trainers for Victoria and South Australia are listed**.**

Jockeys

Relative to horses (n=438) and trainers (n=145), the cohort of jumps jockeys in the study period was small, at 51. Around 30 jockeys rode in all three Australian jumps racing seasons, with the majority moving frequently between South Australia and Victoria. Ten jockeys accounted for 62.1% of starts, with three jockeys accounting for 25.3% of starts. The most prolific jockey rode in almost four out of every five (77%) jumps races over this period.

6.3. Jumps racing safety

As discussed in Chapter 3, much of the debate about jumps racing has centred on claims that jumps racing is inherently risky for both horses and jockeys, having much higher fatality and injury rates than flat racing (Boden *et al.* 2006; McManus and Montoya 2012). Such claims often associate the high turnover rate of horses, identified in the previous section, with high horse injury and fatality rates (Boden *et al*. 2006). The following section reports a quantitative analysis of the safety of jumps racing over 2012-2014.

Table 6.4 shows the fall, fatality and finish rates for jumps horses in the period over 2012-2014. The overall fatality rate was 5.1 per 1,000 starts (0.51%). The overall fall rate was 33 per 1,000 starts (3.3%). Around 10% of all jumps horse starters were retired before the race finished, falling into the category of 'failed to finish'. Other reasons for not completing a race include 'lost rider' (i.e., jockey falling off - 1.6%), 'brought down' (i.e., horse brought down by another horse's fall - 0.35%) and, in one case, 'run out' (i.e., horse jumped out of the racecourse). Overall, 85% of horses starting a jumps race completed the race.

A significant difference in risk profile was evident between steeplechase and hurdle races during the study period (see Table 6.4). Of the 10 horse fatalities, nine occurred in steeplechases, with the single hurdle fatality occurring on the flat at the start of a race, rather than over a hurdle. This disparity is increased when the larger proportion of hurdle races is taken into account, with one fatality in 1,328 hurdle starts, compared to nine fatalities in 642 steeplechase starts. The fatality rate for steeplechases was 14 per 1,000 starts, more than double that of the key performance indicator implemented by Racing Victoria in 2011; and the rate for hurdles was 0.75 per 1,000 starts, almost an order of magnitude below this indicator. This disparity is less marked when considering the rate of falls in hurdles (29 per 1,000 starts) and steeplechases (40 per 1,000 starts). However, the proportion of falls that result in fatalities in steeplechases (35%) is more than an order of magnitude greater than for hurdles (2.6%), with over one-third of steeplechase falls proving fatal.

Race type	Starts	Finishes	Deaths	Fatality rate (deaths per 1,000 starts)	Falls	Fall rate (% of starts)	Fatalities as proportion of falls (%)	FF*	BD**	RO***	LR****
Hurdle	1328	1135	1	0.5	39	2.9	2.6	128	7	1	18
Steeplechase	642	537	9	14	26	4. 0	35	65	0	0	14
Total	1970	1672	10	5.1	65	3.3	15	193	7	1	32

Table 6-4**:** Hurdle and steeplechase horse falls, fatalities and finishes in Victoria and South Australia for the 2012, 2013 and 2014 seasons.

NOTES: *Failed to Finish (FF): horse withdrawn during race, as fatigued and uncompetitive, at discretion of jockey, **Brought Down (BD): horse brought down during race by another horse, ***Run Out (RO): horse leaves track during race, ****Lost Rider (LR): jockey falls from horse during race.

The study period was compared against longer-term trends using publicly available data for Victoria (comparable data were not available for South Australia). The resulting data (see Figure 6.4) indicate that the annual Victorian fatality rates during the study period were lower than any other consecutive three-year period since 1986. These rates show considerable variability, with the lowest annual fatality rate being 5.5 deaths per 1,000 starts in 2011-2012 and 2012-2013; the lowest annual rate being 4.1 deaths per 1,000 starts (0.41%) in 1999-2000 and 4.5 deaths per 1,000 starts (0.45%) in 1997-1998.

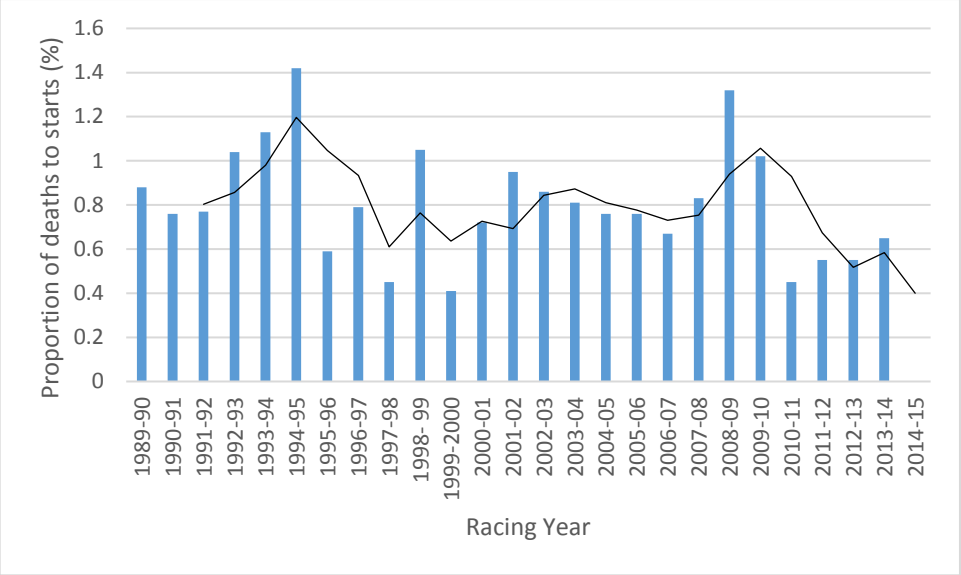

Figure 6-4**:** Horse fatality rates in Victorian jumps racing, 1986 to 2015.

NOTES: Source data: Boden et al. (2006), Australian Racing Fact Book (2013) and the Animals Australia submission to Victorian MPs (2008). A racing year is defined as the period, 1 July to 30 June in the following year. Fatality rates for the period of 2011-2014 were estimated by identifying the date of the fatality and aggregating deaths over the racing year. Data for 2004-2005 and 2005-2006 are average values sourced from the 2008 Animals Australia submission to Victorian MPs, as individual fatalities could not be located for this period. The line represents the moving three-year average.

The 2017 season of jumps racing will be mainly conducted at rural or regionally based locations, with a reduced metropolitan presence in both South Australia and Victoria. The 2017 Victorian jumps racing season has only two race meetings programmed for metropolitan Sandown. For the 2017 season, both the Grand National Hurdle and the Grand National Steeple will stay at metropolitan Sandown, representing the only jumps races to be held in Melbourne. For the first time in over a century, an entire jumps race meeting, comprising a six-race jumps programme, will be held at Ballarat (Racing Victoria 2016). Consistent with this increased regional focus, jumps races will recommence at Sale and jumps trials will be held at Terang (Racing Victoria 2016). These moves may be designed to provide a more convenient location than Cranbourne, to qualify horses in the eastern parts of Victoria and to increase the supporter base in regional communities. Similarly, the 2017 South Australian jumps race programme also reflects an increased regional presence and a reduced presence at metropolitan Morphettville (South Australian Jumps Racing 2017). The 2017 South Australian programme has only two jumps race days scheduled for Morphettville Racecourse in suburban Adelaide. This marks a significant contraction of jumps racing away from capital cities to country and regional race clubs in Victoria and South Australia. This

contraction of jumps racing to a majority of county race clubs reflects the combined effects of the historical outworking of processes of indifference (such as reduced interest in jumps racing as a leisure activity and revenue source for thoroughbred racing) and active opposition by animal activist and welfare groups (see Chapters 3 and 5).

6.4. 'Jumps people'

As shown above, jumps racing in Australia today involves a relatively small number of trainers, jockeys and horses, with a very small number comprising a highly active core. This group train and race in a small number of locations, according to a tightly prescribed annual calendar. Reflecting this, participants spoke about jumps racing as a small, tight-knit and distinct community. Peter, a racing official, described jumps trainers and jockeys as "*a fraternity*, [with] *shared values and there's a very small minority of them you can count on one hand"*. Liam, a successful jumps trainer for over 30 years, stressed that "*jumping people*" are "*real enthusiasts*" and "*quite different to the flat racing people, really. Like, I have a lot of flat horses as well, so I have a good involvement in both, but the jumping fraternity are really significantly different to the flat racing guys*".

Chris, an owner of jumps horses and enthusiastic supporter of jumps racing, loved being part of the jumps racing fraternity: "*The thing l love most about this business is the fraternity. They are a marvellous (*emphasised) *bunch of people".* He then characterised the fraternity of jumps jockeys and trainers as the best of mates, bonded together through the dangers of jumps racing and the shared threat of opposition to jumps racing: "*With the jockeys, cos it's a dangerous thing, let's face it, they're all considerate of each other. They're all, outwardly anyway, best mates with all of them. … And the trainers are the same. They're all horsemen, they all like each other. They're desperate for the survival of jumps races".* Similarly, Fred (a committed longer-term supporter of jumps racing) acknowledged that danger was an inherent attraction of jumps racing for jockeys, who were "*in the sport because they love racing. If you didn't have jumps racing in Victoria, you'd lose that whole cohort. While they're good track riders, that's not enough adrenaline excitement for them".*

Fred also described the difficulty of training jumps horses as it requires a great deal of skill and knowledge of horses. He thought that jumps people "*get amazing satisfaction*

out of training jumps horses", as a result of the time and skill *"you've got to put into it".* Fred links the level of skill required to participate successfully in jumps racing with the level of desire shown by the jumps fraternity for this activity and with the appeal of this activity in its rural heartland of Warrnambool.

Liam associated the jumps racing fraternity with rural communities and a love of animals: "[They are] *rural people, in the main, and most of them are animal lovers. I would say probably all of them, including the jockeys"*. This suggestion that the jumps fraternity were characteristically animal lovers who cared deeply for their horses, was also repeated by Monty (an enthusiast supporter): *"you look at any of the people involved in horses, how many dogs and other animals they've got. To say someone (*who) *is involved in jumps racing doesn't know how to care for animals, it's just insanity".*

6.5. Place, tradition and change

Oakbank, South Australia

The sense of fraternity conveyed by participants involved in jumps racing was strongly tied to a strong sense of place. To Fred (a long-term proponent of jumps racing), Oakbank was "*absolutely special and unique*" and it has got "*the rural country atmosphere"* where the horses "*jump over the logs and uphill and down dale and the hedges. It's those things that make it special".* Fred regarded the Oakbank Easter Carnival as so special that he thought that "*there is a religious experience about racing at Oakbank".* Fred opined that not only did "*people like racing at Oakbank",* but he also suggested that *"we should support jumps racing. We ought to build it up as one of our special unique features and make sure Oakbank works"*. Doug, a South Australian race club official, was proud of Oakbank's historical reputation as the largest picnic race meeting in Australia, a family-oriented event that attracts large crowds to its Easter carnival. Oakbank Race Club continues to conduct the Easter carnival as a picnic race meeting, with many other entertainment sideshows, such as the Easter egg hunt for children (see Figures 6.5 and 6.6). In keeping with the intention to attract families, Oakbank encourages people to access the racetrack itself, even encouraging children to play football on the track (see Figure 6.7), and a recent Oakbank tradition. At the same

time, Oakbank maintains that the traditional steeplechase obstacles, such as the live hedges, are part of the event's distinctive character (see Figure 6.8).

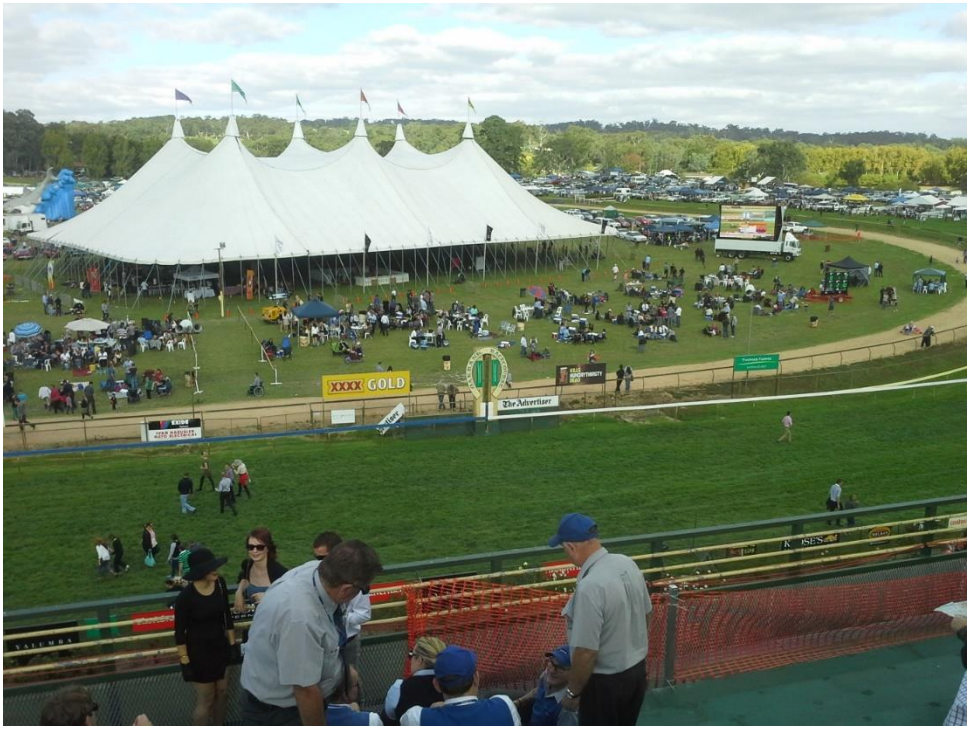

Figure 6-5: Oakbank Racecourse, April 2015. (Photograph by author)

NOTES: Looking towards the centre of the course, showing side show area and children's slides in the background. The wining post is in the centre of the photo on the far side of the race track. Note the people on the track, which is allowed at Oakbank.

Doug stressed that Oakbank continued to attract younger audiences, as well as traditional race goers:

> *We now have a lot more family-type people that go to Oakbank. It's gone from the older person who's always been to the races and continued to go to the races, to now a much more family-oriented set up. It still is the largest picnic race meeting in Australia, whereby people can drive in, pay their admission and not spend another cent if that's what they want, because they can bring their own food in, they can bring their own drink in, they can sit around and do it. But even now, we have probably, before we open the gates at 7 o'clock in the morning, we've had a 150, 200 cars, some of which have camped there overnight.*

Doug thought that Oakbank's continuing popularity rested on two key characteristics: the picnic-style of the race meeting and the appeal of jumps racing, *per se*. By combining the tradition of jumps racing with a shift towards attracting families to the picnic meeting, the old and the new went "*hand-in-hand*" and differentiated the Oakbank Easter Racing Carnival from other race meetings and racecourses.

Figure 6-6: Picnicking at Oakbank Racecourse, April 2015. (Photograph by author)

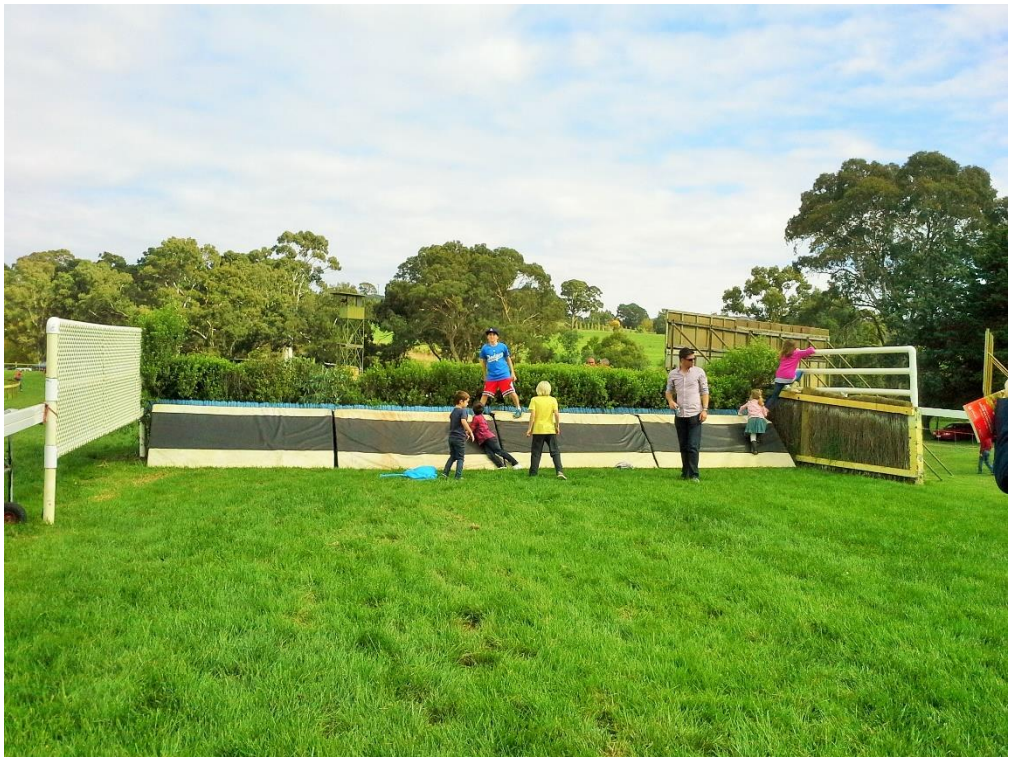

Figure 6-7: Children playing on the racetrack in front of a steeplechase obstacle, Oakbank 2015. This obstacle has a live hedge at the back, and a panel at the front, with wings attached on either side. (Photograph by author)

Figure 6-8: Jumping through the hedges at Oakbank, Von Doussa steeplechase 2015. (Photograph Credit, Jenny Barnes Photography)

Doug was confident that Oakbank also attracted interstate visitors, giving the Easter carnival national, as well as local, jumps racing significance:

> *It's the picnic-style of race meeting that attracts a lot of people to come to Oakbank, but there's also a group of people who love jumps racing, especially from interstate, and that's the reasons why they come to Oakbank. I mean, so there is no doubt that the mere fact that we do have jumps racing makes us different than any other club, because we promote jumps racing. So, the number of people that come to Oakbank is quite incredible.*

He acknowledged that the role of tradition and maintaining traditional symbols, such as the fallen log (see Figure 6.9), is part of the attraction of the carnival:

> *The fallen log is a tradition that we don't want to move away from. The fallen log's the heart of it* [laugh]. *That's the essence of it. It's, you know, it's, I suppose, it's almost quite parochial. It's a South Australian thing. It's what South Australian people do and we use a log fence and its steep* [laugh]. *There's that as well.*

Figure 6-9: Walking the track, Oakbank 2015, showing the fallen log and a member of the research team. (Photograph by author)

Warrnambool, Victoria

Jim (a pensioner and long-time jumps racing supporter) cast Warrnambool as "*the last place in Victoria where just absolute racegoers, pure racegoers, who are interested in the sport, and the majority love jumps racing, go for a week of racing. Warrnambool is the sole place. Warrnambool is the last place where there's an educated racing crowd that gets together".* In this sense, Jim speaks as a purist, regarding Warrnambool jumps racing as true to tradition and an authentic representation of jumps racing. Thus, for Jim, there was a "*huge difference in the culture"* between Warrnambool racegoers and Oakbank racegoers "*because Warrnambool are dedicated racegoers".* Jim regarded those attending Oakbank as "*not an educated racing crowd"*. To Jim, Oakbank had tradition, but the event was not primarily about the jumping. Rather, "*over the years, there has been a tradition that you went and your family went and* [the next group] *went and a lot camped and a lot just made a weekend of it. But they're not people that are regular racegoers".* In contrast, he regarded Warrnambool people as "*interested in the sport 365 days of the year".* This perception of a fundamental difference between Warrnambool and Oakbank was repeated by Chris (a jumps horse owner), who regarded the audience at the Warrnambool May Carnival as "*a knowledgeable crowd, because they go every year to this meeting, and it's one of the most knowledgeable racing crowds in Australia*". The knowledge referred to here was centred on horses, their concept of 'horsemanship' and the difficulty of training and riding a jumps horse. In using the gendered term 'horsemanship', Chris is reflecting on the gendered nature of the horseracing industry and, indeed, the origins of jumps racing, as primarily being a masculine and military sporting activity (Lane 2016, see also Chapter 3). Chris cited an example of crowd behaviour after the running of Warrnambool's premier jumps race, the Grand Annual Steeplechase:

> *It's unique to jumps racing, seeing the crowd stand and applaud every horse that finished and, particularly in regional Victoria. It is very special in regional Victoria. People appreciate the quality of the horse and the horsemanship of the jockey. Just watching the jockeys go over the jumps and the horses move slightly and the horsemanship of the jockey, it's just magnificent and that's genuinely appreciated.*

Despite this representation of Warrnambool as the home of the pure tradition of Australian jumps racing, participants also noted that this place was the site of

considerable innovation. In 2015, the Warrnambool Racing Club introduced a new ceremony to mark the Brierly Steeplechase, parading a previous winner in front of the crowd (see Figure 6.11). After the 2009 carnival, in which three horses died and jumps racing was precipitously stopped by Racing Victoria, Warrnambool Racing Club encouraged and supported changed crowd behaviours. Since that day in 2009, at the conclusion of the Grand Annual Steeplechase, in response to an invitation broadcast to the public on the racecourse grounds, the crowd stops to stand and applaud each individual horse that returns to the mounting yard, thereby acknowledging the courage and stamina of these horses competing in Australia's longest thoroughbred race of 5.5 km (see Figures 6.11 and 6.12). This crowd behaviour of standing, applauding and acknowledging *all* horses who finish the Grand Annual is unique to Warrnambool and to jumps racing. It represents a new practice, linking the crowd to the history and place of jumps racing at Warrnambool, and importantly placing the horse at the centre of the tradition of jumps racing. This behaviour celebrates jumps racing and the thoroughbred horse in the tradition of a past model of horsemanship that celebrates the endurance and courage of jumps horses. The new crowd's social practice of applauding all horses finishing the Grand Annual Steeplechase establishes continuity with the fraternity values of horsemanship, horse courage and endurance, and serves to connect the present fraternity with the past history of the Grand Annual Steeplechase.

Figure 6-10: Parading a previous Brierly Steeplechase winner, in front of the crowd, Warrnambool May Carnival 2015. (Photograph by author)

Figure 6-11: Crowds packed into the stand before the Grand Annual Steeplechase, Warrnambool racecourse 2015. (Photograph by author)

Figure 6-12: Crowds in front of the stand, waiting for the start of the Brierly Steeplechase, 2015. The spiral fixture is where the race stewards watch the race. (Photograph by author)

For the people of jumps racing, its fraternity of practitioners and its supporters, jumps racing is motivated by a respect for tradition, a strong sense of place and community, and a passion for the skill involved in jumping. As put by Fred: "*it's the colour and movement. It's different, unique and special*", distinguishing jumps racing and its country locations from city race clubs, where "*there is a sameness about them*". Liam, a successful jumps trainer, also reflected that for *"the flat racing guys, it's totally a business",* whereas he regarded jumps racing as *"more of a sport. It's all nostalgia and sentiment".*

In addition to the jumps racing fraternity, the interview sample contained members of the wider racing industry, in addition to vocal advocates of horse welfare and animal activists. Thus, while participants involved in jumps racing professed a love for this activity, other participants voiced criticism of jumps racing that fell into four categories. The first criticism was that jumps racing was old fashioned and out of date in a modern society. The second criticism was that society itself had changed and that jumps racing was no longer an ethically acceptable leisure activity or entertainment. The third criticism was about the economic marginality of jumps racing as a form of entertainment, a source of gambling revenue for racing and a source of employment for

trainers and jockeys. The final criticism related to the high risk of jumps racing associated with deaths and injuries to horses.

In relation to the first criticism, Stevie, an advocate for animal rights and an opponent of jumps racing, pejoratively characterised jumps racing people as old-fashioned rural people, out of touch with current society values: *"these real sort of niche communities, where they have such an institution of things like jumps racing,* (are) *just stuck in that old school thinking"* and *"that rural background".* Stevie viewed jumps horse trainers as "[t]*ypically, of a generation that still believe that jumps racing is acceptable, by all accounts".* To Stevie, jumps trainers were outdated: "*They've been doing it for 40 years. They've been doing it for a long time. They're not a new-age trainer who's coming in and, you know, looking at the racing industry in the twenty first Century and going 'how can we revolutionise the racing industry to fit the modern age?'".* Stevie dismissed suggestions that jumps people loved their horses and that their expressions of love and affection for their horses were legitimate: *"these people that are stuck in the old school that still think that 'well, if a horse dies, it's just doing its job'".* Stevie summed up his objections to the tradition of jumps racing:

> *There's not really a single argument for why jumps racing should exist, other than, you know, that people say it's a tradition, and we* [the Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses] *don't think that on that argument alone, that jumps racing can stand on its own four legs. It's not something that belongs in this day and age. Maybe in the 70s and 80s, it was OK. Jumps racing has been out of touch with mainstream society for a very long time. It was the sport that had passed it's used by date and was ready to be picked off.*

The second criticism of jumps racing that emerged from the interviews was that of a changed society and changed societal values, concerning the use of animals for human entertainment. Dianna (a longstanding and vocal opponent) emphasised the shift in societal attitudes that had occurred in South Australia and this increased awareness:

> *Absolutely, there's been a societal change. Certainly, the public opinion on jumps racing; it's deeply unpopular in South Australia in the broader community. I've had conversations with people who will never go back to Oakbank again, who will go to flats racing, but will not go to jumps racing again. Society has changed. Yeah, absolutely, society has changed. And, in my*

> *day, you know growing up, nobody questioned the racing industry at all. You know, the idea of animal welfare was a foreign concept, or animal rights was completely 'out there'. You know, that's just the way society was. But society's changed.*

Dianna believed that there existed a broad societal shift in attitudes, not only opposing jumps racing, but also questioning the social status of horse racing:

> [The race-day public] *see the death of a horse, or a fall; it's not acceptable to see these things in this day and age, and their children see it. And so they don't want to go back. So there is that impact, I think, that the industry needs to be aware of. To have death as part of that spectacle isn't something that creates an event that you look back on with fond memories. I think horse racing is no longer the prestigious place that it once was in our society. I don't see that racing, as an industry, is on its last legs, but I do think jumps racing is.*

Stevie believed that "*jumps racing does directly turn people away"* and also doubted that *"people are attracted to horse racing for the actual act of seeing horses running around a track, or jumping obstacles".* Rather, Stevie opined that the public now attended for "*the carnival atmosphere, for the celebration, for the community, and that's why, you know, people go to the* [prestigious Melbourne] *Spring Racing Carnival, and there hasn't been a jumps race there for 10 years."*

The third criticism of jumps racing related to its economic viability and was voiced most clearly by participants involved in regulating the wider racing industry. Reflecting on the economics of jumps racing, Peter, a metropolitan racing official, called thoroughbred racing: "*a business"* that needed "*the gambling dollars to stay afloat"* and, consequently, "*we haven't got room for nostalgia anymore".* Peter viewed jumps racing as all: "*nostalgia and sentiment, because it costs us a fortune to run and we get no return from it. It's a sport that costs us seven million a year and gives us no return. We don't make any money out of jumps racing. It's not really a sport".* Peter lacked certainty as to how jumps racing continued, given the low participation rates and time taken to train a jumps horse: *"there's very few jumps trainers that actually train jumpers, because it's too time-consuming. I'm not sure how it actually hangs in".* With this comment, he unpicks the numbers of trainers involved in jumps racing, implying that, although many trainers are qualified to train jumps horses, few horses end up

jumps racing, reflecting the considerable investment of time required to prepare and train a jumps horse. Peter believed that jumps racing was not a full-time employment, especially for jockeys:

> *The problem with trying to get new jockeys coming through is that* [it] *isn't worthwhile for them. You know, it's a seasonal sport. They ride* [track work and high weights], *but it's not probably worthwhile for them. Unless you're in the top four jockeys, you're not going to make any money out of it.*

Neil, another racing official, also mentioned the economic marginality of jumps racing which, at only "*70 races,* [means that] *there's not enough money available"* to provide sufficient income for jockeys who were generally too heavy to ride in flat races: "*We supplement the riders' income by running higher-weight* [races] *through the year. So, it's viable enough for those guys to stay in the sport and earn a living, and it's viable".* He also observed that no trainers relied solely on jumps racing for a livelihood: "*All of the trainers that compete have got flat horses as well, so they're not totally relying on jumps races for their income".*

Many supporters of jumps racing were aware of a decline in race-day crowd attendances, but viewed this as a more general phenomenon, an indication of competition for the entertainment dollar. Monty (a publicist and enthusiastic jumps race supporter) reflected on how changed societal leisure preferences had altered the nature of the gambling experience, and with this, decreased the importance of attending horse racing as a leisure and gambling opportunity:

> *There's a whole change in society's structure, in the sense that I can go* [to] *the pub on Saturday afternoon, watch the football, bet on the races in the pub, bet on the football, bet on everything else.* [I]*n South Australia certainly, I know, I notice more having been away for a long time, culturally, these things* [gambling] *have changed so significantly, like the TAB* [Totaliser Agency Board] *and these sorts of things.*

The interview analysis reveals that relatively low participation rates in jumps racing, as well as a lesser betting interest by gamblers, were a source of more general criticism. Dianna, a South Australian opponent of jumps racing, held opinions aligned with those of Neil and Peter. To Dianna, jumps racing was "*not a sustainable industry on its own terms. It is propped up financially and it does suck money out of this state".* Dianna

could not *"see the dollars there, even if you don't buy the animal welfare arguments"* and "*there's no full-time industry here for jumps. It is not a full-time job for anyone"*. Reflecting on attendances at the annual Oakbank carnival, Dianna said that racing authorities needed to

> [t]*ake a cold, hard look at how their industry and their event* [are] *going to thrive, and what will make people, not only attend the first time, but come back and repeat and bring others. Now, if numbers is what they need, then they need to reconsider what will reduce numbers or what will increase numbers. But they're business people, they make that decision* [based] *on what they think works.*

Diana believed that more widespread, changed societal gambling preferences, such as internet-based gaming opportunities, had impacted gambling revenues from horse racing:

> *Racing isn't where gambling is at anymore. That's not where the big money is and online is where people gamble these days. And you can bet on anything these days, as well. You know 'once upon a time', it was only certain things, like racing, that allowed you to gamble.*

To Stevie, an opponent of jumps racing, this combination of low participation rates and lower gambling interest made jumps racing: *"very vulnerable because it doesn't have a very strong argument for it to exist, in terms of economic factors. It loses money when it operates, it's heavily subsidised by the flat racing industry* (and) *the amount of betting turnover on jumps racing is significantly less, compared to flat racing".* For Stevie, the low gambling interest in jumps racing was easily explained because: *"there's too many variables in jumps racing that can go wrong. The punters don't want to risk losing their money if a horse either dumps its rider, falls, dies, or is pulled out of the race early because, you know, it can't finish the race".* He then pointed out the *"significant decline in the amount of people that participate in jumps racing now, as compared to 10 or 20 years ago",* such that there are "*only about 25 jockeys that participate, approximately 60 trainers and about 180 horses".* To Stevie, this represented *"a decline in the amount of people who participate in the sport"* and that jumps racing was *"just holding on there, that they're trying to essentially, you know, keep this dream*

alive, knowing that it doesn't really stack up, in terms of the economic arguments, and, you know, the factors of negative publicity that it constantly draws to horse racing".

These opinions about low gambling and declining interest in gambling on jumps racing, by Stevie in particular, are consistent with the Australian anti-jumps racing website 'banjumpsracing'. As described on its web page, the purpose of its social media activities and web page activities is "to address every argument FOR jumps racing, with nothing but factual data, to empower each person to make their own mind up" (www.banjumpsracing.com, accessed 12 April 2016). The banjumpsracing web page also presents detailed information on gambling investment in the 2013 jumps race seasons for both South Australia and Victoria, using data from the Victorian Totaliser Agency Board (TAB), and the commercial gambling site, 'www.tattsbet.com' (accessed 12 April 2016). The amounts bet on all races are presented with commentary, pointing to lower gambling on jumps races, compared to flat races on the same race day and the low revenue return to race clubs from jumps races.

The final criticism of jumps racing was that of the high risk of jumps racing associated with deaths and injuries to horses. Stevie, an opponent of jumps racing, made the case that jumps racing is so dangerous for horses and jockeys that it is: "*the black sheep of the racing industry, because it is inherently dangerous and cruel. The statistics have pointed out, you know, jumps racing is approximately 20 times more dangerous than flat racing*". Here, Stevie is referring to the quantitative estimates of fall and fatality rates contained in the 2008 Animals Australia submission to Victorian members of parliament and based on the work of Boden *et al.* 2006 (this data is extrapolated in Figure 6.12). Stevie labelled jumps racing as "*cruel tradition"* and "*unconscionable"* with "*no place in a modern society*" and "*out of touch with societal expectations in this day and age*". Stevie then repeated these statistics to associate the likelihood of death in a jumps race with the illusion of horse choice about death: "*They, essentially, they have the choice of going to the knackery or, you know, are 20 times more likely to die on the field in a jumps race, and so, that is not the choice, that's the illusion of a choice".*

The impact of activist and welfare campaigns regarding horse deaths in jumps racing on racing authorities was mentioned by several participants. The significance of any horse death in jumps racing was described by Peter, a racing administrator, as "*like just hanging on by your fingernails; a couple of fatalities and everything just sort of goes backwards. You're always on the edge"*. However, the current safety record was "*good*

at the moment. Everything's going forward". Similarly, Neil, another racing official, acknowledged that safety was "*our Achilles heel, but we've got our basic building blocks in place, which is improving the safety record. And we've made great improvements there. We've got to continue to make improvements"*. Neil tacitly agreed to the view put by opponents of jumps racing about its safety record: "W*e accept one hundred per cent that the sport wasn't safe enough. There's no question that 2008 and 2009 were horrible years* (with) *just absolutely totally unacceptable fatality rates, and you just couldn't keep going like that*".

Peter acknowledged that animal welfare and activist campaigns that were critical of the safety of jumps racing had put public pressure on Racing Victoria (see Table 3.1). The net effect was that "*regulation has increased*" and the new measures were implemented "*not just to appease the protestors, but also for the welfare of* [the] *horse*". However, these measures also protected the public image of racing and Racing Victoria: *"Racing Victoria have got a brand to protect and they don't want to see their brand being dragged through the mud by horses falling and causing injury to themselves and others. We have to keep striving to make it as safe as we possibly can."*

To Peter, horse welfare and horse safety went hand-in-hand, and the regulatory intent of recent rule changes by Racing Victoria, was all about the horse, horse welfare and horse safety:

> *We're regulating for safety, but we're also probably regulating, most importantly, for animal welfare. If the horse is sound, it makes the sport safe. Gone are the days where you can have* [a] *horse that goes out with a minor injury and tries to compete over 3,200 metres in a jumps race. So, making sure that the horse is vetted before they race and trial, it just flows through and makes the whole sport safer.*

Neil regarded racing governance as "*stricter*" and "*more transparent*", with the result that "*industry's starting to come along and probably giving their horses better preparations and/or grounding before they go racing than may have been* [occurring] *in the past*". Neil described 2015 as *"a fantastic season with zero fatalities*" and, although the fall rate was "*slightly higher than last year*", "*the horses are jumping really well",* and "*trainers seem to be taking their horses back to the trials more and giving them a proper education before they actually go racing*".

6.6. Responding to criticism of jumps racing

Supporters of jumps racing were well aware of the criticisms of jumps racing used by its opponents. The perception of the marginal economics of jumps racing was acknowledged, but this was often cast as a case for building greater participation from within racing. Kevin, a successful trainer, recognised the need to improve the numbers of horses competing in jumps racing: "W*e're trying to build participation. It's very early in the year but, you know, our average field size is one horse better than it was at the end of last year. That's our next goal,* [to] *build participation".* But he recognised that, for the jumps jockeys: "*there's not enough races to support them",* which means that, in addition to riding on race days, they were: *"working in stables, riding track work, educating horses, earning a wage off the race day".* Doug (a race club official) was aware of *"something like about 70 trainers in South Australia that are now qualified to train jumpers",* which represented an increase *"in the last two or three years* [or] *so, from maybe 30, 25, 30 trainers who were qualified to train",* and *"an increase in local horses as well".* But, he added, reflecting on the quality of these horses: *"They're not, they're not all really good ones, and some of them are not gonna, you know, race in the Grand Annual at Warrnambool".* Commenting specifically on the state of South Australian jumps racing, Jim (a long-term supporter of jumps racing) stated:

> *I don't reckon that you could make any economic case to keep jumps racing long-term in South Australia, because there's no support for it. Twenty-three out of the last 28 metropolitan races were won by trainers from Victoria. Well, why should South Australians be putting on races for Victorian trainers? It's such a small sport now. The smaller trainers can't make a living out of it.*

Bill, a South Australian trainer, also identified the poorer gambling interest in South Australian jumps racing as problematic, especially for Oakbank Racing Club, which currently conducts only three race days a year, including the Easter carnival. He thought that Oakbank Racing Club was "*probably not viable as a club, probably not. Whether the extra couple of race meetings a year will help, I don't know. They're not getting big crowds. Look, I think its betting turnover. I think everyone, even the South Australian Jockey Club, they operate at a huge loss".* Doug also highlighted the financial challenges faced by Oakbank Racing Club associated with a continuing decline in annual public attendances over the past decade: *"This year, we only had*

50,000 there over the two days. So, it certainly has gone from a vibrant club, to like most clubs now, struggling and difficult to make ends meet". Doug reflected that this significant decline in attendance in 2015, especially on the Easter Monday, meant that: "*We're going from a $30,000 in-the-red club to a $130,000 in-the-red club. And with the same decline in enrolment in attendance, the costs aren't going down. The costs, in actual fact, are going up".* More significantly, he reflected on the longer-term trend of an increasingly serious revenue shortfall: "*I'll be quite honest. In the last 10 years, Oakbank has lost money. The only year that it hasn't lost money was when its financial year went from 12 months to six months and included the race meeting. In the last 10 years, we've gone from $500,000 in the bank to in-the-red".*

Some participants thought that a cultural shift in recreational gambling behaviours had not only affected jumps racing, but horse racing overall. Fred accepted that a significant cultural shift in Australian gambling habits had occurred, but believed racing needed: *"a broader,* (more) *attractive product",* by implication, jumps racing, in order to attract betting interest, especially during the winter months. Fred promoted jumps racing, citing three broad opinions. Firstly, he believed that jumps racing was of significance for particular communities. Fred defended country jumps race meetings for their social and economic contribution to local communities, particularly at Warrnambool, claiming:

> *The May* [Warrnambool] R*acing Carnival, in terms of economics, is worth $25 million to $30 million a year to the local community*, [being] *one of the big events on the social calendar of country community and one of the best economic generators* [in] *the two weeks before where you get young people in country Victoria who wouldn't wear a suit and tie, even at their wedding, who'll buy a new suit and tie to go to the races. And that is fantastic*.

Fred's second defence of jumps racing was that "*it's an attractor*", bringing more people to either watch races or to bet on races over the winter period when there was less flat racing than during the rich spring competitions. According to Fred, "[i]*f you didn't have jumps racing, half the people who come to the races in winter and half the people who go to the pub to watch the races and have a bet in winter, wouldn't turn up and you'd miss all that revenue on the flat races the rest of the day".* Ian, a long-time jumps supporter, jumps horse owner and racing club member, maintained a similar view: "*It brings a different crowd. There's that 200 or 300 extra people who turn up,*

just because they want to come along and watch the hurdle race…by the time the day's ended, because of the extra people and the involvement, it's, well the turnovers don't lie". Fred also believed that jumps racing was important in, "*in keeping people interested in racing, and to keep boosting our turnover during the winter months".* In a comment similar to that of Ian, he admitted that jumps racing *"doesn't attract big betting on that individual race, but attracts people to the product of racing and, while they'll watch that race, they bet on the other races, whether that be on the track or at the TAB*". Fred regarded the tradition of jumps racing as so important to these country towns and communities that an end to jumps racing would have very significant social and economic consequences for Victoria's rural towns:

> *If you took the jumps racing out of the Casterton meeting, it would end up being a Friday cup meeting, rather than a Sunday cup meeting. There would be virtually nobody on track and no benefit to the town and local community. If you took jumps racing out of the May racing carnival, you wouldn't have a three-day carnival, the Warrnambool Cup might be a Sunday cup day. There's no doubt, if you didn't have jumps racing, if you didn't have the Grand Annual, the Brierly and the Galleywood, the Warrnambool May Racing Carnival wouldn't exist and that's worth $25 million to the Warrnambool economy. And it's a huge industry, and you wouldn't have the history and the aura.*

6.7. 'We've got to continue to make improvements'

In discussing the current safety record of jumps racing, several interview participants involved in this activity repeated the 'pro-animals frame' noted in Chapter 5 where jumps racing is constructed as a positive activity that has the capacity to improve its safety record and the blame for falls is placed upon either the horse itself (they make a mistake) or on the (new) style of jumps (Montoya, McManus and Albrecht 2012). These participants were conscious of criticisms of the jumps racing safety record, but believed that jumps racing has the capacity to improve its safety record, and represented the blame for falls on either the horse (they make mistakes) or on the physical structure of the jumps (McManus, Albrecht and Graham 2103). In these interviews, an additional theme to those identified by Montoya, McManus and Albrecht (2012) was revealed, that of the improved skills of jockeys and trainers. Take, for example, Kevin, a race club official, who also labelled the safety record of jumps racing

as "*our Achilles heel*". Kevin believed that the "*great improvements"* were achieved "*through the changing of the obstacles, number 1, through education of riders, trainers and horses and the strict qualification rules"* that he described as *"quite burdensome on the actual jumping horse",* adding: *"We've got to continue to make improvements".* Ian, an owner of jumps horses and a race club member, acknowledged a cultural change in the attitudes of jockeys following the implementation of a new regulation that permitted a jockey to withdraw a fatigued and obviously out-of-contention horse from a race. Neil regarded this as a

> *real change of culture in that respect - to the point where maybe sometimes riders have pulled horses up earlier than we might have even expected them to, but they know the horse. The boys can use their own initiative and say, 'hey, I'm not travelling well. This bloke's can't be in contention. I'm not going to flog him'.*

Chris, an owner of several jumps horses, believed recent improvements in safety reflected the ongoing recruitment of a cohort of Irish jockeys: "*It's much safer than it was. The standard of riding is better than it was because we've got all these Irishmen here. There's about five or six Irish jockeys and they're used to riding. They're better riders because they do it all the time and the standard's better"*. For Fred, a strong supporter and advocate of jumps racing, there was a quality to the Irish jockeys, a sense of innate horsemanship, that meant that jumps racing was safer than it had been for many years:

> *This year, 2015, there has not been a single fatality in a jumps race in Victoria. When you look at the jumping in Warrnambool yesterday,* [there was] *absolutely outstanding quality jumping. But the jockeys, particularly* [with] *the influence of the Irish jockeys, has been really significant as well. We've got a whole batch of Irish jumps jockeys and they know about riding at tempo. They know about riding at a steady tempo and genuinely jumping the jumps. So, to actually slow the horses down and genuinely jump a larger jump, is much safer.*

Doug believed that the safety improvements reflected the redesign of the jumps:

> *The jockeys that come from overseas or from interstate always comment on how safe our steeples are, because they are forcing horses to stand-off and look at it and jump but, at the same time, they offer the safety that if a horse misjudges it*

and jumps through it, they're highly unlikely to fall. So they've become a lot safer.

As a consequence, for Doug, if horses made a "*mistake*" jumping*, "they've got the opportunity, they're not being tripped over and* [falling] *straight into the ground. And so, you're finding a lot more horses that'll get over the other side of the jump and scramble and stay on their feet".* Similarly, Kevin opined that the new obstacles made horses jump higher and that they were safer if the horse made a mistake:

> *With the new type* [of jump]*, if they're hit, they make a big noise, which gives the horse a bit of a fright. You generally find that* [a] *horse'll jump a fair bit higher, the next jump he comes to. They're trained over these jumps. They know they've got to jump higher, which slows them down, and it means, if they make a mistake, they've got a much better chance to gather their feet on the landing side of the jump*.

Gary, a successful and longer-term Victorian trainer, embraced not just the education of horses, but also the education and skills of trainers and jockeys, as contributing to improved safety. Gary also demonstrated an awareness of the steeplechase deaths between 2012 and 2014:

> *Our steeplechasers are jumping a lot better. I think our fences are better. Our wings are better. There's more rider education. It's not just one thing. It's a lot of things that are being put together to improve it. You can't get a jumping trainer's licence now without going and doing a course. It ensures that people have got a fair idea of what they're doing before they send a horse out over 11 fences and two miles.*

For Gary, this meant that jumps racing now involved: *"No more risk than flat racing",* and he proudly claimed the absence of horse fatalities in 2015:

> *If you actually look at the statistics, jumps racing in this country has probably got, at this stage, is probably nearly the best practice in the world. If you look at this year, we've had no casualty in races. I think, last year, I think, we had one in a steeple chase and I think two in hurdle trials. But, for the number of horses that go round and anything where there's speed and action, there's always a risk. But it's a calculated risk and the benefits of it, I think, far outweigh the attrition level that we have.*

6.8. 'They have no idea about horses'

Many participants who supported jumps racing also responded to the criticisms of horse welfare associated with the high rates of injury and death. According to Peter, in the face of a shared enemy, the jumps racing "*jockeys and trainers; the industry entirely bonded together"*. As put by Eddie (a racing photographer), "*the protestors just made the people in racing more solid. The people who are in racing become, they're just becoming a more compact group*". In the light of the small size of the jumps fraternity and this common bond, there was consensus across many participants involved in jumps racing about the impact of activist and welfare campaigns.

Cathy, a Warrnambool trainer, emphatically rejected opponents of jumps racing as being motivated by horse welfare:

> *They* [the activists] *have absolutely no idea about horses. I think they need to open up their eyes - like driving out in the countryside. How many skinny horses are you going to go past? How many retired racehorses sitting out there not getting a feed every day? There are thousands*.

To Ian, the opponents of jumps racing *"are totally different to the people of 30 years ago*". Jim regarded opponents of jumps racing as "*far more media savvy than the administrators in jumping. They just work the social media, but they also work the media really well*." According to Ian, they had influenced broader public opinions about jumps racing:

> *Because 30 years ago, people had either no opinion or they were pretty okay with jumps racing. Because of the high-profile sensationalism of accidents in the last few years, the community attitudes towards jumps racing, you know,* [are] *strongly against it. But there's no question - and what happens is, as you're seeing in South Australia, parliamentarians are influenced by community attitudes*.

Many interview participants simply dismissed opposition to jumps racing based on the low numbers of protestors physically present at race meetings. Bill, a South Australian trainer, recalled his memory of the Oakbank protestors in 2015 as "*18 protestors outside the gate on Saturday and 35 or 34,000 people inside"*, describing them as: "*a minority of do-gooders who really have got no idea of the real world*". Bill regarded

jumps racing as no different to any other contact sport and concluded that these protesters should "*Go and stop football; they get injured and killed, you know*". Comments about low protestor numbers at race meetings were repeated by Liam: "*At Oakbank this year, if there were 40, it would have been - I might be exaggerating it. There were no more than 40 people and half of them were children of the protestors. Why would you bother?"* Liam would "*never let animal rights people get involved. I would just ignore them. Like, there's only a few anyhow*". Doug, a race club administrator, also believed that the protestors are "*declining in numbers*" and he cited what he regarded as unethical tactics when "*at Easter time, 2015, they actually paid some university students to go there and protest, which people do*". Doug's concerns about the presence of protestors were rooted in "*so much antagonism that happens between the people who camp and the protestors*". Eddie labelled protestors as a "*rent-a-crowd*", stating that: "*My daughter saw signs up at Monash University asking people to come and protest*". Belinda, a race photographer, regarded such opposition to jumps racing as simply *"politics of protest, fired-up university students and teenagers who need some sort of cause*", adding that: *"people pass on from such protests to normal life, and then have to get a job, earn a living. Life views and interests change*".

There was consensus amongst several participants that jumps racing was just low-hanging fruit in a wider agenda for activists opposed to horse racing. This was expressed as the "*thin end of the wedge*", whereby jumps racing was simply the first issue for activists, to be later followed by use of the whip and the racing of two-year-old horses. To Monty (publicist and jumps supporter), the flow-on impacts from accepting arguments opposing jumps racing, and "*accepting that jumps racing is cruel*" and its eventual banning, would be profound:

> *Do you accept their view that using a whip is cruel? Do you accept their view that two-year-old racing's cruel? Do you accept their view that distance racing's cruel? If you accept one, how can you not accept the other? It's the thin, absolutely the thin end of the wedge. If you take their arguments to its logical extreme, there would be no horse racing at all.*

This concept of the '*thin edge of the wedge'* was also used by Ian (owner and race club official):

> *I don't think hurdle racing is number one. I think it's, it's really racing that they're after. We've had the whips issue, which is not finished if you look at any of the websites. You're talking about two-year-old racing, breaking in a yearling, distance races, weather? Hurdle racing was the thin edge of the wedge. I think they thought hurdle racing was going to be an easy kill because it was so small, and by putting the pressure on. If you keep reading their website, that's only part of their whole campaign.*

Or, as put by Doug: "*the protestors see jumps racing only as the thin edge of the wedge and, once they get rid of jumps racing, they will then move on to two-year-olds or three-year-olds or, whatever the case may be until, eventually, there is no horse racing*". He quietly concluded: "*Now I hope that is never in my lifetime*".

6.9. 'Its inner-city suburban vs rural'

For some interview participants, the ongoing opposition to jumps racing reflected not just a debate about horse welfare, but an emergent divide between deep attachment to rural Australia and the regional locations of jumps racing. Many participants expressed examples of what Tuan (1974) called topohilia. For such participants, jumps racing is both the product of deep attachment to the specific location of jumps racing and a source of this attachment. This attachment was manifested in their nostalgic longing for the tradition of jumps racing and the perceived loss of Australia's rural heritage. To Chris (owner of jumps horses), the tradition of jumps racing was connected to identity, especially the identity of Australian rural communities and their traditions of horsemanship. Chris regretted that Australia's horse heritage and folklore were disappearing, especially in the cities:

> *Without horses, this nation could not have survived and all the folklore from people like Banjo* [Paterson] *and others, based on, you know, on rural communities in which people depended upon the horse. And the irony of it is that today, in most of Australia that has disappeared, in this sense. No, it hasn't disappeared in the rural communities or, it has to a certain extent. In the cities of Sydney and Melbourne, and I assume Adelaide, you will find very few people who ride*.

Monty explained what he regarded as characteristics of a "*very fractured"* contemporary Australian society:

> *You have a metropolitan bourgeois progressive elite and everyone else. The bourgeois metropolitan progressive elite set media agendas because, generally, they tend to be educated and articulate and* [have] *access to media, and they drive that agenda in a way that seems completely utterly disproportionate to the rest of society*.

Monty then explained the clash of social values:

> *It's not even rural metropolitan. It's inner-city suburban. Inner-city versus suburban and rural, and um, we will make these divides bigger and deeper, I'm sure. But that's kind of what the people behind it want. It's very much, it is very much about, 'we believe in diversity as long as it's diversity we approve of'*.

Liam reflected on the urbanisation of Australian society and a distancing of animals from people's lives, compared to the relative rurality of New Zealand, where opposition to jumps racing was significantly less noticeable. Liam opined that contemporary Australian urban lifestyles now separated people from horses and the routine experience of animal deaths. Liam believed that the urbanised population of Australia's cities no longer understood horses, animal cruelty, or the inevitability of animal deaths. Liam's comments about the routine and unremarkable nature of animal death in rural communities stands in complete contrast to Dianna's "*spectacle*" of death and indicates the differing perceptions and attitudes between rural and city people that underpin much of the contemporary debate about Australian jumps racing. According to Liam:

> *New Zealand, it's a much more rural community than we are, in terms of population. People live outside the cities and, consequently, there isn't this bleeding heart thing. The thing is that people who live in the cities have never been on a horse's back, don't understand the first thing about a horse and yet can tell, can tell you how cruel it is.*
>
> *The more urbanised we become, the more powerful the animal rights' people will get. There's no question. It will get worse. Rural people accept things, like animal deaths, because they see it on a weekly basis, if not a daily basis, if they're on a big enough farm. So, it's an acceptable part of life, but it's not acceptable, cruelty to animals and things like that*.

Similar sentiments were echoed by Kevin, a country race club official:

> *There's no doubt that country people don't see eye to eye on a lot of matters with city people, and it's completely irritating to people to be told about animal welfare by people who live in Fitzroy. And that draws out some very strong emotions. Its human nature to stand up for your rights and to fight as hard as you can when you're faced with extinction.*

In an emotional public broadcast reported in Warrnambool's local newspaper, following the Grand Annual Steeplechase in 2015, the chair of Warrnambool Racing Club publicly expressed his strongly held topohilic sentiments when he directly claimed that Warrnambool, its jumping races and traditions, belong to country Australia, and then stated with emotion and obvious resentment towards "these inner suburban radicals", who wanted to ban jumps racing:

> I'm sick to death of all that goes on, protesting about jumps racing. You've got two or three radicals in the city trying to dominate the scene in the country. We've had this race for 150 years and we won't be told by those people where we should be heading. (Des Roberts, Chairman Warrnambool Racing Club as cited by Woolley and Best 2015)

6.10. The volatile politics of support

The contemporary identity of jumps racing has emerged from a history of social identity and privilege, place-based tradition and, increasingly, a rural-urban divide. Modern jumps racing is thus conducted in a politically complex environment. The interview analysis reveals three layers of political complexity. These are: state government politics, the internal politics of thoroughbred racing as a whole and, finally, the divisions within jumps racing itself. These are discussed, in turn, in the next three sections.

Victoria

The influence of a supportive Victorian State Government and the additional investment in jumps racing, when Denis Napthine, the local member for Warrnambool was premier (2013 to 2014), was recognised by Neil: *"I think it has helped and it certainly did help that we had a government - it was probably more so that we had a government that was strongly behind the sport, compared to the previous Labor Government and that, in itself, irrespective of the money and how it was used, gave*

people confidence". For Chris, the additional money that Denis Napthine, a veterinarian and a long-time passionate jumps race goer, gave to jumps racing in 2011, and especially the introduction of a $10,000 maiden win bonus, was a "*fantastic incentive for people to race a horse".* Liam regarded the political support as "*extremely important"* because it gave stability and confidence to jumps racing, especially to iconic and jumps racing-centric locations like Oakbank and Warrnambool:

> *Just needed that injection to show people that there was confidence that the business, the jumping business, will keep carrying on. Because, up until Napthine did that, people weren't investing in the industry. They were not buying jumpers because owners were scared that they were going to ban jumping racing. Well, that gave them confidence then.*

Peter's perspective differed. A racing administrator, he recognised that ongoing political support could no longer be guaranteed. In his opinion, any future horse fatalities would affect political support for jumps racing, and even support from within racing itself:

> *I'm not too sure, if we had fatalities or incidents now, whether they would have that same support, and I don't think they would. I think the government would now leave it up to the Racing Victoria board and not become involved in the sport. I just can't see the board continuing a sport that's going to damage their brand. Whereas, before, they had Denis Napthine, who was getting them revenue from the tote (*totaliser, see Chapter 3), *lost Tote tickets, you know. The government now, they're not so generous, I wouldn't think, if there was a public perception that jumps racing was cruel and it was going to damage the racing minister's profile,* [that it would have continued its support].

South Australia

Comments about South Australian politics were dominated by the 2016 state government enquiry and the potential to ban jumps racing. To Monty, the South Australian racing minister's opposition to jumps racing was simply:

> *Another bit of gesture politics and it's a stitch up. Naïve. Naïve in the extreme. Cynical. Wretched. Shamefully populist-placating, the racing minister. I've no*

idea what he's doing. I don't understand who he thinks was going to reward him or thank him for his stance. This is the thing that perplexes me about him.

This personalisation of the political debate over the future of South Australian jumps racing was also mentioned by Doug: "*We have an issue with our minister for racing at the moment, who has openly admitted that it's now become quite personal. He hates jumps racing. He actually announced that he would never go to a race meeting that had a jumps race at it"*. However, for Dianna, the time was now right in South Australia to debate jumps racing in parliament, as there was a new Labor Government, and with this, an attitude change towards jumps racing and horse welfare:

The leadership has changed. The ministry has changed. I know that there is a difference in the caucus and the cabinet now. So, that's one of the reasons. When Weatherill became premier, he dropped the word 'racing' from the recreation sport portfolio for a while. I think that was a telling move as well, to drop the word 'racing' and, to be honest, I don't understand why you need a racing portfolio. And you've got people who absolutely detest jumps racing in the Labor Party and who are agitating and clearly getting a bit of traction at the moment.

To Stevie, the South Australian parliamentary enquiry into jumps racing in 2016 "*was a significant development*" that had consequences for both South Australia and Victoria. Stevie regarded influencing politicians as all about "*the continual exposure, the ability to, you know, to get it into the mainstream media, to regularly show that it is still in existence, and to attribute blame to the decision makers who allow this to continue and put a face to that*". He noted, especially, the comments of the South Australian racing minister, emphasising:

This is a sport of the past. He (the minister) *thinks that many people want to see jumps racing banned. It's one of the biggest issues that they've received correspondence on from voters throughout South Australia. That's significant, not only for South Australia, but also for Victoria, because the incoming Labor Government here are taking the same tack that the Labor Government in South Australia have taken for the last six or seven years. They've changed tack and actually come to the conclusion or, you know are very close to, that jumps racing doesn't have a place in modern society.*

6.11. 'Betrayal'

Despite poorer gambling turnovers relative to flat racing and the uncertain and complex politics of horse racing, jumps racing remains part of the annual metropolitan race programme in South Australia and Victoria. According to Jim, in Victoria, jumps racing is supported and kept on the metropolitan race programme, due to the influence of key executives of elite racing clubs, who include former state and federal politicians:

> *Well, the only reason I reckon it's survived in the city at the moment is because* [name withheld]*, on the Victoria Racing committee, and he's a big fan - likes the jumping. So, a lot of the committee own horses that are jumpers.* [Name withheld]*, he owns quite a few and he's won quite a few big races. There were a few others over the years that owned it.* [Name withheld]*, he owned, what was his horse? He owned a jumper. I can't remember what it was. And* [name withheld]*, of course, who owned two jumpers.*

The situation in South Australia differed from Victoria. As a public figure and influential critic of jumps racing, Dianna was aware that every jumps fatality generated poor publicity for horse racing and this was of concern to many involved in racing:

> *The industry itself is very divided. And I have lots of people who are involved in the racing industry who have contacted me, who are quite anti-jumps racing. My common saying is 1% of the industry and 99% of its bad publicity. We had a bit of an insight that there were differences between Thoroughbred Racing South Australia and the South Australian Jockey Club. And, clearly, there's been a now public shift that they don't really want jumps racing in the metropolitan area and, certainly, not at Morphettville. That certainly is something that just shows you about the industry itself. It's come out of the South Australian Jockey Club*.

The theme across many participants, who were supportive of jumps racing, was a sense of betrayal and bitterness towards the South Australian Jockey Club and its publicly stated desire in 2016 to exit from jumps racing at Morphettville Racecourse (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2015). This spilled over into a hostile, acrimonious and personalised public debate involving the racing minister, Leon Bignell, and the former chair of Oakbank Racing Club, John Glatz (Moore and Cook 2016). Ricky, a successful jumps jockey, called the South Australian Jockey Club "*just disastrous. They are*

betraying their own family. You just don't do that". Ricky's anger and sense of betrayal of the tradition of jumps racing and what it stood for was clear: "*The South Australian Jockey Club position had inflamed the debate and divide. Racing in South Australia is the problem,* (emphasis) *not jumps racing. They are canning a part of racing, part of the same industry. The club is not behaving as if we are part of the family*". Ian also held the South Australian Jockey Club *"totally responsible for it reigniting the debate"*. To Ian, the South Australian Jockey Club had "*actually kept it boiling*" and he was

> [a]*ngry with them, because my reaction was, as soon as the minister come out, because listening to the minster, I could just hear the South Australian Jockey Club. Everything the South Australian Jockey Club ever said behind closed doors, that's what the minister was saying, right?' Nothing new, not one, not one of the comments he's made is Bignell's* (the racing minister's) *comments. They're South Australian Jockey Club comments*.

To Ian, it was a "*Betrayal, yes. Without a doubt*". Monty angrily regarded the South Australian Jockey Club's move as portending an end to jumps racing in South Australia:

> *The Jockey Club's behaviour towards jumps racing is overall deplorable throughout, when you have a sector of your own racing community at war and trying to destroy another one, and you know they're very disingenuous. They say we're only talking about, we're only talking about Morphettville but, in the end, if this bill goes through, that's Oakbank gone. That's Gawler gone*.

To Monty, the politics within South Australian racing were bitterly personalised, reflecting the personal opinions and antipathy between key individuals, such as the chair of the South Australian Jockey club, the racing minster, and the chair of the Oakbank Racing Club: "*this battle will go on and on as long as Tony Newman's there as chair of the South Australian Jockey Club. He won't change. I don't know what his personal animosity comes from. The board members, they fabricate the numbers in terms of the turnover*". According to Monty, the public alignment of opposition to jumps racing between the South Australian Jockey Club and the member of the South Australian parliament, who had initially introduced the bill to

ban jumps racing into parliament, Tammy Franks and racing minister, Bignell, was no more than

> [a]*n absolute stitch up and that's disgraceful. That's just shocking that a racing minister would be allegedly in cahoots with people who hate what he does. In terms of the South Australian Jockey Club, I mean, as long as Newman's there, that's the chairman, this will continue. He hates jumps racing. He has personal animosity towards it. I said that the South Australian Jockey Club's alignment with Tammy Franks and the racing minister will, in fact, lead to the end of jumps racing everywhere.*

6.12. 'South Australian people hate the Victorians coming over here'

The interviews also revealed a degree of interstate rivalry and tension between South Australia and Victoria. This reflects the coincidence of circumstances, including the low overall numbers of South Australian horses compared to Victoria, the limited number of high-value races that are predominantly steeplechases, the limited number of steeplechase horses (35) and that five Victorian trainers dominate jumps racing. This interstate tension was also manifest in the existence of two separate industry bodies, the Australian Jumping Racing Association and South Australian Jumps Racing. According to Doug, a race club administrator, there are some

> *people in South Australia that hate Victorians coming over and taking their money and running back to Victoria, but they do that in flat racing. If we take thoroughbred racing, you have a look at most of the big races that are held here in South Australia, they're not won by South Australian trainers. They're won by interstate trainers who take the money, and so on. Victoria needs South Australia to continue jumps racing. South Australia needs Victoria to continue jumps racing. So we've got to work together to make certain that we all stick together.*

This need for the Victorian presence in South Australia was also acknowledged by Peter, who reflected on the uncertainty surrounding the parliamentary enquiry in South Australia:

> *I think the Victorian presence is needed in South Australia at the moment, because the industry itself and the government have given no stability to it.*

> *Where there's a lack of stability, numbers drop down, people don't have the confidence to go and buy horses. We went through the same thing here* [in] *2004, 2005. Warrnambool was put on hold. But they are going through a lack of confidence, the same as we went through earlier, because they're not getting confidence from their government and from particular parts of their industry.*

According to Fred, the Victorian presence in South Australia was actually an economic argument:

> *Having the Victorians come over actually puts dollars in the pockets of South Australian businesses. It grows the interest and it grows the betting across the whole of Australia. If no Victorians went across to South Australia, industry would be even smaller and what the South Australians have got to realise, they've got to be less parochial and they've got to realise* [that] *they come across and win races over here occasionally, and that's good for the industry*.

6.13. Conclusions

The people of jumps racing regard themselves as a distinct fraternity of horse people, a group of like-minded people, different in character from the world of flat racing. Key fraternity values include a strong emotional attachment to the skill and tradition of the sport. The people of jumps racing are motivated by a strong sense of tradition, place, community and skilled 'horsemanship'.

There exists a continuing and strong attachment to and nostalgia for traditional locations and events associated with jumps racing, particularly the two iconic events, the Oakbank Easter Carnival and the Warrnambool May Racing Carnival. Both Oakbank and Warrnambool continue to craft their identities around the two iconic jumps racing events. These locations and events remain central to jumps racing in the present.

Since 2009, jumps racing appears to have achieved a period of recent relative stability, in terms of the number of races and participants, compared with the decline in participation and activity levels over the years from 1999-2008. However, in South Australia, the number of jumps races, horses and jumps starters decreased to a low point in 2016. The 2017 season of jumps racing will be mainly conducted at rural

or regionally based locations, with a reduced metropolitan presence in both South Australia and Victoria. This marks a significant contraction of jumps racing away from capital cities to country and regional race clubs in Victoria and South Australia. This contraction of jumps racing to a majority of county race clubs reflects the combined effects of the historical outworking of processes of indifference (such as reduced interest in jumps racing as a leisure activity and revenue source for thoroughbred racing) and active opposition by animal activist and welfare groups. Despite relative stability since 2009, jumps racing continues to face considerable ongoing uncertainty. Jumps racing survived in Victoria, only through the election of a new state government and a supportive new premier and racing minister, who was also the local member for Warrnambool. The most recent season of jumps racing in South Australia was conducted in an environment of considerable uncertainty. The South Australian Jockey Club's announcement in 2015 that it wished to cease jumps racing at metropolitan Morphettville resulted in a unique alignment between the jockey club, the racing minister and the Greens' Party member of parliament, Tammy Franks, around the possibility of banning jumps racing in that state. For the jumps racing fraternity, this public split within racing and the position of the South Australian Jockey Club, was viewed as a betrayal of family, with the potential to effectively end jumps racing in that state.

Chapter 7: Human-horse relationships in Australian jumps racing

7.1. Introduction

Chapter 7 investigates human-horse relationships in Australian jumps racing, based on the dialogic analysis of interviews as described by Reissman (2008). This broad interpretative approach explores how participants describe and value jumps horses and explores the life histories of particular jumps horses and their relationships with humans, as represented by participants. These techniques also provide a means to explore how horses are perceived to contribute to these relationships and were particularly well suited to those interviews that were an extended narrative of experience, often involving emotion. Such representations of horses in the now-controversial activity of Australian jumps racing are an important component of the contemporary social construction and valuing of human-horse relationships (Dashper 2017).

7.2. Interpreting human-horse relationships

Chapters 1 and 2 presented the ethology of horses, cultural beliefs about horses and the ways in which both horses and humans have shaped the co-evolutionary history of the human-horse relationship. Human-horse relationships are complex and multifaceted. Human relationships with horses are built upon the biology and behaviours of both horses and humans; the human understanding of horses, the horse understanding of humans and the social use and valuing of horses. Together, these construct the perspectives and practices that inform the ways humans seek to relate to horses in any particular socio-cultural context. The human-horse relationship necessarily remains an encounter with an 'other' being that poses potentially transformative questions about the nature and validity of the human purposes upon which this relationship is founded. Within modern societies, the horse is valued in many ways, including as a companion, family member, work mate, athlete, national or regional icon, productive worker and commodity. Horses can also be represented to embody virtues of character, such as strength, stamina and bravery, or can be interpreted as markers of cultural identity. In Euro-American Western cultures, horses are powerful symbols of social identity, particularly for the maintenance of elite and traditional rural communities (Rose 1990). And, being with horses can, itself, be a way of life (Cassidy b, 2002). Differing ways of

investing horses with significance is important in constructing different kinds of people, social worlds, epistemologies and ontologies (Latimer and Birke 2009).

Birke and Hockenhull (2012) regard relationships as a complex intertwining of lives and expectations. Interspecies relationships, such as that between humans and horses, involve two incommensurable ways of being in the world, and are coproduced from shared experiences and from differences in experiencing the world (Birke and Hockenhull 2012). To form and sustain the relationship, humans and horses must therefore interact and communicate across spatial, temporal and sensorial boundaries. In this sense, both humans and horses are active agents that are able to influence and direct the relationship at different times and in different ways (Dashper 2017). Relationships between humans and horses necessarily involve each learning to understand the behaviour of the other, if only partially (Birke and Hockenhull 2015). To establish some kind of relationship, both humans and horses must be able to read each other's intentions, at least to some extent. Working with horses requires communication across the boundaries of species' differences. Such communication is partly non-verbal, especially when riding horses, which embodies the physical co-presence (Dashper 2017). Building a working relationship between horses and humans not only involves learning to work together, but to have expectations about how the other moves and behaves (Birke and Hockenhull 2015). The human aim of training horses is to ensure that the horse behaves and responds in specific ways and performs required tasks (Birke and Hockenhull 2015).

The theme of partnership is well-established in research with leisure riders, as well as in competitive equestrian sports, such as show jumping (Birke and Hockenhull 2015; Keaveney 2008; Wipper, 2000). The term 'partnership' is often used to denote the kind of relationship that many human riders seek with their horses (Wipper 2000, p 47). Components of this human-horse partnership include respect, confidence, trust and communication. In competitive horse sports, the human-horse partnership is important because it involves the performance of both horse and rider. This combined performance is what makes horse sports stand out from most other forms of sport. There are many kinds of horse partnerships, from those based on kindness and sympathy, to those based on force or fear. Such partnerships can range from authoritarian, where one partner makes all the decisions and seeks to dominate the other, to egalitarian, where decisions and power are shared (Wipper 2000).

7.3. Investigating human-horse relationships in thoroughbred racing

Chapter 3 considered the history, culture and traditions of thoroughbred racing, in general, and of Australian jumps racing, in particular. Chapter 3 also explored how a specific breed of horse, the thoroughbred racehorse, continues to embody many social values and cultural traditions, despite changing values about the use of animals for human entertainment and the novel social and economic context of twenty first Century horse racing.

Although the human-horse relationship has been investigated in the leisure horse context, there is a relative paucity of academic literature on the nature of these bonds within thoroughbred racing. This is surprising, given that relationships with racehorses are highly visible in conventional and social media, and such media attention and public debate about horse welfare has, itself, attracted research (McManus and Montoya 2012; Ruse, Davison and Bridle 2015). Using the example of a famous American racehorse 'Smarty Jones', Scott (2009) examined animal agency and the issues of training, coercion, performance and improvisation in thoroughbred racing. Scott (2009) considered thoroughbred racehorses to be protagonists; characters at the centre of an elaborate narrative, constructed through anthropomorphism, "not just performers in arenas, but players in dramas" (Scott 2009, p 45). Scott argues that anthropometric descriptions of thoroughbred agency, using terms traditionally reserved for human athletes, such as 'will-to-win' and 'disappointment at loss', reduce individual acts of horse agency to mere aspects of the characters created for them by humans. McKee (2016) examined the issue of racehorse death and wastage through a description of a memorial service for an ordinary thoroughbred interred at the Kentucky Horse Park. McKee's account casts 'Invisible Ink' as a modest racehorse worthy of mourning; a horse that was both a friend and companion to his owner, their relationship providing an example of the mutual bond that can exist between human and thoroughbred horse. McKee contrasts the love felt for Invisible Ink by his owner with the "dark side of racing" and the slaughter and exploitation of "unwanted horses" elsewhere in the US horse racing industry (McKee 2016, p 141).

The research reported here was conducted in the specific socio-cultural context of Australian jumps racing, in the everyday places of its practice: at racecourses, in racehorse training establishments, stable yards and human homes. The study informs understanding of how the past, as well as the present, is reflected within its places

and communities of practice, and how participants perceive the future of this activity. Central to all interviews were claims about the experiences, interests, motivations and feelings of horses. To understand these claims, and thus to understand how and why horses are valued in the ways they are, it is important to understand the human-horse relationships that underpin the ways in which people encounter, perceive and talk about horses. Necessarily, the focus of this chapter is predominantly on the experiences and perceptions of participants who were members of the jumps racing fraternity, as these interviewees had direct, embodied and complex relationships with jumps horses. While the perceptions of horses held by opponents of jumps racing is included in the analysis, none of these interviewees had interacted closely with jumps horses.

The analysis in this chapter is set out under five themes. These themes collectively explore how participants talk about and describe jumps horses, physically, as well as behaviourally. They also explore how human-horse bonds are formed, built into working relationships and sustained over long periods. This includes consideration of how horses contribute to forming these relationships through their behaviours and through working with humans. Human empathy and patience for horses are also explored, as well as affection for individual horses. These themes are followed by three narratives, two about individual horses and one about a particular human-horse partnership. These narratives offer lived insight into a horse's entry into jumps racing, a horse's career in jumps racing and the end of a horse's jumps racing career, which involves the death of a horse.

7.4. Becoming a jumps horse

All Australian jumps horses enter jumps racing based on a previous career in flat racing and must undergo a qualifying performance in an official jumps racing trial held under simulated race conditions. Each trial and the performance of individual horses are reviewed by race stewards, who subsequently assess individual horses as suitable (or not) to start in a jumps race. The purpose of these trials is to ensure that jumps horses are fit, educated and competitive. Additional qualifying trials are required before a horse can transition to steeplechasing, and horses must also requalify each jumps season. Not surprisingly, interviewees who were involved in jumps racing characterised jumps horses as active and often willing participants in this activity, while opponents

characterised jumps horses as passive victims of human exploitation and suffering. These different perceptions of the experience of horses in jumps racing were particularly evident in discussions about how horses enter into this activity in the first place. For many members of the jumps racing fraternity, horses, as well as people, are born into this activity. For opponents of jumps racing, jumps racing is viewed as another in a series of stages of exploitation. Put simply, human enthusiasts for jumps racing represent most horses as being similarly enthusiastic, while opponents represent horses as being forced to participate.

The interviews revealed that participants held two distinctly different perceptions of jumps horses that were dependent on whether participants supported or opposed jumps racing. Those participants who were supportive of jumps racing regarded jumps horses positively, as their favourites, horses who were loved and, above all, trusted. In contrast, opponents of jumps racing spoke negatively of jumps horses, generically describing them as failed flat racing horses. These opposing perceptions are discussed sequentially in this section.

Those participants who were supportive of jumps racing, including owners, trainers and jockeys, spoke fondly of individual horses and of the generic physical and behavioural characteristics that they believed contributed to a good jumps horse. Despite the lack of specific breeding programmes for jumps horses in Australia (McManus, Albrecht and Graham 2013), the interviews indicated that, just as many humans regard themselves as being "*born into*" jumps racing, so too were many horses viewed in this way. A genetic heritage of a parent regarded as a 'stayer'; that is, a horse bred to race over longer distances of at least 2,000 metres, was considered an important feature of jumps horses by many participants. Just as with human participants, horse participants were often identified as being members of key families. Bill thus referred to some "*handy* [horse] *families*", and Harry thought it was important that "*one, either the mother, the dam, or the sire, have got staying in their bloodlines, I reckon. It doesn't worry me if one's got staying and one's got sprint*". Liam, a successful jumps trainer, regarded "*any of the lines going back to 'Sir Tristram' (*an outstanding New Zealand sire of numerous Australian and New Zealand racehorses, including three Melbourne Cup winners). *They're the best jumpers. Like, Sir Tristram's sons have been unbelievable jumpers*". For Liam, this genetic line from Sir Tristram not only produced good staying horses but good jumpers: "*great stayers and they love jumping. 'Grosvenor' was also a son of Sir*

Tristram and he makes good jumpers". He then qualified his emphasis on particular sires saying that "*most of the good stallions leave good jumpers because they leave athletic horses*".

Not all participants regarded genetic heritage as important. Chris, a keen supporter and owner of jumps horses, regarded pedigree as the least important characteristic in selecting a jumps horse: "*I don't really care much about their pedigree. I buy the horse on what its performance is*", although he admitted that "*the pedigree has some effect",* citing the example of his most recently purchased horse that was bred from a "*great sire of jumps horses and I thought, he'll make a jumper. Now, whether he will* (or not) *is another matter".* Chris identified pedigree as the least important of the four criteria he used to identify a potential jumps horse:

> *One, they must be sound* [i.e., without physical weakness]. *If they're not sound, you've got no hope. Secondly, they must be of docile temperament. In other words, easy. You can't have highly strung horses jumping. They won't settle into it. Thirdly, they must be good eaters, good doers, right? Otherwise you can't keep the condition on them to work them. And fourth is their pedigree.*

The emphasis on genetics above might indicate that jumps horses were valued for their uniformity. Yet participants involved in jumps racing predominantly spoke about individual horses, rather than horses in the abstract, emphasising the differences between these individuals. Two main types of difference were described: differences in horse bodies and differences in horse personalities. The interviews revealed many differing descriptions to characterise thoroughbred jumps racing horses. For example, those participants involved in the day-to-day training and riding of jumps horses typically characterised them as "*lovely natured*" and "*kind*", "*athletic*", and "*good eaters*." As put by Cathy, a trainer,

> *They're all different. It's the same as the flat racing. So, you just couldn't look at a horse and say that's going to be a jumper. You could say it's a nice type to jump, but they're all so different. We've had little horses - tiny ones that have been good as well. They've all got a good attitude. Some of them have got plenty of spunk and heaps of attitude. Others are just level-headed and sensible and they just - they'll go along and work and just be really well behaved.*

In contrast to the perceptions of jumps horses held by supporters of jumps racing, Stevie (a confirmed opponent), described jumps horses as "*failed flat horses that are often too slow to make it on the normal flats course; the rejects of the racing industry, destined to be in a saleyard pen, likely to end up at a knackery or abattoir*". This narrative is similar to that of the academic critic of American thoroughbred racing, McKee (2016, p 141) and emphasises the 'dark side of racing' and exploitation of 'unwanted horses' in horse racing (see also McManus, Albrecht and Graham 2013). The perception of unwanted horses has its origins in the large numbers of new thoroughbreds that enter flat racing each year and the associated high annual turnover rates of race horses, labelled 'wastage' by the Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses (2016). The associated anti-jumps racing campaign of the Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses presents jumps racing as a cruel career detour for slow and uncompetitive horses and jumps horses are generically described as "*failed flat horses*" in this campaign (Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses 2016)

7.5. 'He had so much character'

The majority of interviews were conducted in the everyday places where encounters between humans and thoroughbred horses took place, where jumps horses were trained, stabled and worked. Participants' understanding of horses and their relationships with horses comes from the routine and intimate experience of living with, working with and being with horses (Sanders 1999). This was especially clear, as many participants lived in close proximity to their horses, with stables in the backyards of their homes, or on small acreages to cater for horse keeping and training. Using human terms to describe their horses and engaging in anthropomorphism, was the way in which participants understood their horses. In the interviews, jumps racing participants consistently emphasised the two-way cooperation between humans and horses that they regard as central to this activity. In addition, whereas opponents commonly spoke of jumps horses collectively, members of the jumps fraternity often spoke of relating to each horse as an individual with a unique 'character' or 'personality'. Mentions of horse 'character' were often associated with smiles or laughter, as though these behaviours were not just tolerated, but were inherent to the relationship and the way horse and human are together (Birke and Hockenhull 2015).

Without exception, every conversation about individual horses and human-horse relationships was characterised by anthropomorphic language that ascribed human attributes to horses. Participants spoke about individual horses as having likes and dislikes, "*character*", or idiosyncrasies of behaviour described as "*quirky*". Horses were also labelled "*real gentlemen",* "*cheeky*" a "*ratbag*" and "*honest*. These terms were used by participants to ascribe individual personalities to their horses. Ascribing human characteristics to horses within the relationship was a key part of the human-horse bond. This mode of discourse was used by participants to convey specific meaning about their horse's behaviours and attitudes and to differentiate them from other horses.

Take, for example, Bill's description of 'Champers':

> *He was a real old pig. I think he dropped every jockey that ever got on. He'd just stop dead and spin around. I don't know that he ever got rid of me, probably didn't, but it wasn't from lack of trying. He was a funny old horse. He had so much character. You know you could just tell looking at him. He was just waiting to bite you or do something. He'd keep you really on your toes. He was a character. He was an old pig, but everyone loved him because he was such a character.*

Ascribing agency to horses in their interactions with humans leads to the development of a discourse of partnership (Dashper 2017). In describing this behaviour, 'Champers' is viewed to be influencing the relationship by his actions. This is not a relationship of total power or total dominance, but one in which Champers' horse behaviours were regarded as 'character', making the horse more loved because of his individuality and expression of individualism.

Gary, a trainer, compared jumps horses directly to people and what he loved about their personalities:

> *I think a horse is like a person. I love honesty and consistency. They mightn't win every race, but I've had some horses that have won, 18, 19 jumps races and they haven't been the best horses. But they're honest. They try, they enjoy it and they're the horses that I enjoy*.

Gary then described his favourite jumps horse, mixing admiration and honesty in a narrative similar to that of Bill, describing the behaviours in removing riders: "*he'd*

drop you when you're working him and he's tough, honest. He's just a lovely character". To Gary, this horse was "*very much still a hero*". Harry similarly ascribed human qualities to his 'Blaze', characterising him as *"a real personality. If he doesn't want to do it, he won't do it. He thinks he's shit hot* [laugh]. *He struts his stuff. Yep. If we go up the paddock there, he'll come up the fence and he'll have his ears back and he'll be looking at you*". Although Blaze was "*bred in England and they paid over $800,000 for him as a yearling*", Harry purchased Blaze for Au$1,000 because, in Australia, he performed poorly, running a bad last, meaning a long way behind the winning horse in his only two starts. Harry ascribed these race performances as intentional on the part of Blaze, rather than reflecting a lack of physical running ability:

> *Like, if he runs last, he runs a bad last. He just goes 'nah, I'm not doing this' and heads off to the side. That's just him. If you could flog the arse off him, do whatever you want and if he don't wanna do it, he won't do it. He'll dog it* […], *he will.*

Blaze's flat racing performances did not matter to Harry. Harry's regard and affection for Blaze were evident, especially in his description of Blaze's personality. Rather than "*flog it out of him"*, Harry had to let Blaze "*think that he's winning"*. Harry valued and loved Blaze, not simply for winning races, but because he was "*very contrary, very quirky, but I think that's what makes him so lovable. Yeah, I love him, everyone does, he's got a little bit of a cult following*". This "*ridiculous horse, to try and handle for a start*" was now:

> *Just fantastic. Just like a bomb-proof pony at the races. He's unbelievable. He's so relaxed when you go to the races, he just goes to sleep in the stalls. He just goes to sleep and he just switches off before he races. He just goes all day, doesn't call, goes wherever you want him to go.*

Liam, a successful trainer of jumps horses, mixed subjective and objective characteristics when he described what he looked for in a jumps horse. Subjectively, he believed that "*jumpers are always kind horses"* and he had,

> *rarely had a jumper that's not a beautiful, lovely horse, you know. Kind horses, nice types of horses, with a good temperament and sound. You don't need big horses, but it's nice if you've got a little bit of size, you know. They eat well and,*

> *because they're older, they're more set in their ways and they're lovely natured, most of them.*

Being settled and eating well was important because of the high physical demands and workload of horses in training for jumps racing. A "*little bit of size"* contributed to a longer stride length to cover the longer distances of jumps racing and assisted with the effort required to jump obstacles and hedges of a metre or more in height.

All thoroughbred horses have an official name that is generally given to them by their owner when they are initially purchased with an intention of racing them. In Australia, official thoroughbred names have to be registered with Racing Australia and approved by the registrar of the Australian Stud Book (Racing Australia 2017). In the interviews, all participants used nicknames when they spoke about their own jumps horses that identified their unique features, rather than using their official racing names (Sanders 1990). The giving of a nickname was part of establishing the individuality of horses and also of demonstrating the participant's relationship with, and personal knowledge of, that horse. Take, for example, Liam's description of his 'Boogie', where the demonstration of his fondness for a horse that "*everyone loves*" is evident. To Liam, Boogie represented:

> *A gorgeous horse, a lovely, big long-striding horse, a big, handsome horse and he's a very kind, gentle horse. He's just one of those horses that everyone loves. The main thing with him, probably, that endears people to him, is his determination and his guts.*

Chris also fondly described his favorite horse, 'Homer': "*He was a stable favourite. Big, ugly looking horse, boofheaded-looking horse. They called him Homer after that series* [with] *Homer Simpson. He was a boofhead,* [an] *absolute boofhead* […]. *But he was a lovely horse*". The nicknames used by participants frequently ascribed personality to individual horses, based on quirks of behaviour or their personal connection with participants. For example, 'Kitty', 'Boogie', 'Elmo', 'Ding' and 'Razz' were names variously used by participants to describe horses that they were closely connected to. Elmo was a "*burly type"* who "*always wanted to go*", a "*real dude, a bit cranky when he first came in, but once he got going, he would just bowl around",* said Bill, (a South Australian trainer). Whereas Kitty was "*just so gentle with me, but he*

would just be in your face. He'd have his head over your shoulder and just leave it there. He was just - he's like an overgrown teddy bear with me", said Cathy, a trainer.

7.6. 'I just love a jumping horse'

For many of the interview participants, especially those directly involved with caring for or training jumps horses, many disparate horse behaviours were tolerated within individual relationships, frequently described as 'character' that is part and parcel of the nature of horses. In this sense, horses also contributed to constructing the human-horse-relationship. This human tolerance for 'character' or disparate horse behaviours, arises from daily familiarity and understanding of horses and their behaviours. For many participants, trust and love went together. Trust was established during the process of working together, a consequence of their relationship and their affective history together (Birke and Hockenhull 2015). Several participants mentioned how much they trusted their horses. When participants spoke to me about their horses, they spoke of how they reacted to each other, and acknowledged a sustained and deep connection to individual horses and how well they worked together. As put by Birke and Hockenhull, these were stories of attunement and mutuality (Birke and Hockenhull 2015 p 127).

Cathy conjoined love and respect: "*I've just always had a respect for a jumping horse because they're bigger, they're tougher and they've just - I don't know what it is about them, but I just love a jumping horse. I just - they work so much harder to get where they've got to go".* Liam "*had them* [jumpers] *all my life and the horses are your mates".* And for Bill, training jumps horses was a labour of love as he reflected on the time invested and committed to their training:

> *I love the jumpers. It's a bit more of a challenge to train them, I think. I get a thrill out of whatever they win, but there's a bit more of a challenge to the jumps. Probably, from my point of view, there's a lot more investment in time and effort to bring a jumper along. Lot of time.*

Bill also explained that he: "*probably had more pleasure out of* [jumps horse name withheld] *and* [jumps horse name withheld], *you know, because I've had them all their life".* Harry's regular jumps jockey loved his steeplechaser and Harry reflected on how his horse approached jumping to make him not just a safe jumper, but loved by his

jockey. This conversation also indicates the patience and training hours required to adequately train a safe jumping horse:

> [Name withheld, horse's jockey] *loves him.* [Name withheld] *schooled him and went around a steeple trial here. He's a safe jumper. It develops with, I think, lots of schooling and one that doesn't go too hard at them and concentrates. You'll see it – they'll steady themselves coming to the jump. Every now and then, even the good ones, will make a bit of a blue, but they manage to get themselves out of it and I think that's just experience and being well-schooled.*

The bond between jumps jockeys and horses was explained by Liam: "*jumping jockeys are a different breed to the normal jockeys. Like, most of them are in it because they love it. They don't make a lot of money out of it. They barely make a living, but they love it. They love the horses and they're great employees in a stable".* Ricky, a successful jockey, loved "*taking a horse from obscurity and turning it into a champion*". Ricky's favourite horse, Gamay *"was just so tough. He was better than anyone else and acted like it. He strutted behind the barriers, marched in".* Ricky emphatically professed his love for Gamay: *"Did you see me ride him at (*racecourse name withheld)*? Did you watch the race? I love this horse so much. I cried when he ran second last week. He's such a good horse. He's such a safe jumper"*. This association between a safe jumper and love was repeated by other participants. Chris said of his horse: "*jockeys love him because he's safe,* [a] *very safe jumper. He jumps very high".* Harry also described his horse as *"very safe and, like,* [he] *could put in a huge leap, but he looked after himself too. He wasn't just charging at them".* Consequently, his jockeys *"loved him. They absolutely loved him. Like, he doesn't even feel like, you know, some horses feel like they're really jumping. Yeah, he doesn't, he just judges his jumps just perfectly. He just corrects himself. He's very safe".*

7.7. 'It's much different to training a flat horse'

Two interrelated themes that emerged from the interviews were those of empathy and patience. Human empathy and patience for their horse partner went hand-in-hand and underpinned a longer-term relationship between horse and human. Empathising with horses, 'taking the horse's role and attempting to sympathetically understand the horse; to see the world through its eyes', is regarded as underpinning the bond between humans and individual horses (Wipper 2000, p 32). For example, Bill described his

horse Spirit as "*very immature, very narrow, immature*" when he first came to him for training. As a consequence, rather than putting the physically immature Spirit straight to work, he "*sent him out for a spell and he had 12 months or something, or nine months' break*" and then "*he came good and we brought him back in to work*". To Bill, Spirit just needed "*extra time*". For Bill, training a jumps horse required "*a lot more work than even just a horse that's going in a 2,000-m staying race. Generally, the jumpers are doing probably twice the work, steadier, long, steadier work*". Bill characterised the patience required to train a jumps horse and the amount of schooling required:

> *The ones that I think are going to stay and perhaps be a jumper, well, I'll start schooling them as a three-year-old, but probably* [a] *late three-year-old, but probably won't do anything like a trial or anything until they're probably a late four-year-old, or certainly a four-year-old. There's a lot more investment in time and effort to bring a jumper along. Lot of time.*

This tradition of patience and longer timeframes are part of the fraternity values mentioned in Chapter 6. As recalled by Fred: "*horsemen who get amazing satisfaction out of training a jumps horse*" and "the *time you've got to put into it*" make it " *much harder to train a jumps horse than a flat horse*". Chris, an owner of several jumps racing horses, also described how patiently horses were brought along and the significant amount of work and time required to train jumps racing horses:

> *You've got to remember, you're seeing them now* [in] *the first week of May. They've been in work since October or November, and it's a long, long campaign and they put hours into it. You know it's much different to training a flat horse. You go down to the beach at Warrnambool tomorrow morning and watch the horses there swimming and walking in the water. I mean, they just put hours* [emphasised] *in. You've got to, at the same time, keep them fresh and alert. The way these blokes do it is swimming. So, they do most of their training on the beach and in the salt water. They don't often gallop*.

Other participants also described a training regime requiring more time commitment, more work in training and much slower paced work than for a flat racing horse. According to Gary, this made jumps training a better physical regime for horses:

A horse getting ready for jumping races, they do a lot of long, slow work, miles. They're well-conditioned. You get horses ready for short flat races and shorter distances, it's all fast and sharp. They get a lot more injuries than jumpers. These horses [jumpers] *normally, they do their work. It's not - it's not as fast a work. Nine out of 10 of them go out to grass paddocks through the day and they're attitude improves. They become sounder.*

7.8. A trainer's craft

Harry (a trainer based outside of Warrnambool) perhaps epitomises the human patience required to train a jumps horse. Harry described his 'Blaze' as initially "*an absolute fruitcake and a little shit, but he's the fastest horse I've ever ridden in my life. He was that bad, oh he was really bad".* Developing a working relationship with Blaze required empathy, patience and riding skill. This working relationship could not be achieved through violence or totally dominating this horse. Harry realised that he need to engage with Blaze as much mentally as physically and that he could not simply beat this horse into submission using physical force to dominate him. Harry emphasised his understanding that Blaze was a horse that could not be dominated using force: "*If he don't wanna do it, he won't do it. He's just like that, this horse.*" Forming a working partnership with Blaze involved engaging with the agency of this horse to understand his behaviours and personality:

to show him you're boss, but let him think that he's winning. And that's how eventually I got around him. Like, cos he would spin, rear, nearly fall over, he was just [a] *ridiculous um horse to try and handle for a start. And I eventually got that out of him.*

Liam, a very successful and longer-term trainer of jumps horses described how he started teaching his horses to jump, treating each horse as an individual and then allowing the horse to work out what to do, allowing for the weight of his jockey:

We start off quietly. Now, some horses have got different styles to others. Some need the bull ring because they don't - they take them a bit too cheaply and some try to get over them [the jumps] *too quickly*. O*nce they learn to jump, they jump very well without riders. They're very articulate, the horse can shorten or lengthen on his own. What they've got to allow for is 60 or 70 kilos on their*

back. I think that is one of the problems jumps racing faces. There are probably a lot of people who don't really understand that horses are loved, horses are well educated.

Jumping involves different skills than in flat racing for both the rider and the horse. This emphasis on trusting the jumps horse, allowing the horse to adjust for the weight of his rider, and make a 'horse decision' to adjust stride length, is fundamentally different to the conduct of flat racing. It is perhaps more related to horse sports, such as show jumping, hunting and cross-country completions, where horse and rider must partner to successfully compete (Birke and Hockenhull 2015; Wipper 2000). Describing an especially loved horse, Liam said:

He's just got a great eye. He meets the fence well. You don't have to pamper with him going into a fence. Like a jockey can sit quiet and he'll work it out himself and get it at the right length. When you go into a fence or an obstacle of any sort, the horse has the ability to shorten its stride or lengthen its stride. Once they become confident jumpers, they do that automatically. Most very capable jumpers get a good rhythm going and have [a] *good eye for a fence*.

To Liam, training a horse to jump was all about the horse knowing what to do, taking control of the situation and working it out for themselves. His role as trainer was having the skill to recognise the natural ability of each horse and also to engage with the agency of the horse:

Once I teach them to jump, I leave it alone really, because they don't need it. We certainly school them early in the season to get their jumping muscles in tone but, once the season has started, it's rare for me to school a horse unless he has an issue. Once they zero in on a fence and they know what you're telling them to do, they do it. Because, a horse is as loyal as a dog as long as you don't kick them in the guts every day.

For Liam, there were no short cuts in adequately training a jumps horse so that, by the time Liam took his potential jumps racehorse to a jumps trial, "*each horse probably would jump 500 jumps before we put them over in a circuit situation like a racecourse".* This meant that his jumps horses were "*really competent jumpers. Like, we could go from that FEI arena* (Federation Equestrian International - an internationally standardized show jumping course) *to a jumping trial, and have done*

plenty of times, to an actual jumping trial with other horses and everything, and we're confident that they'll jump them".

7.9. A jumps racing career: Dandy and Harry

Many of the human-horse relationships described in the interviews lasted long periods of time, and significantly longer than the one season of jumps racing that characterised the career of the majority of jumps horses (see Chapter 6). As shown in the following narrative, some jumps horses are regarded as special by their human partners and remain with their human partners over the longer-term and well into their retirement from racing. Noting the close-knit nature and shared values for the thoroughbred horse that are held within the jumps racing fraternity, this raises the question of whether or not these participants were typical of jumps racing as a whole. The following narrative describes the jumps racing career of Dandy, now a 16-year-old horse. Dandy's jumps racing career extended over nine years in Tasmania, Victoria and Queensland, including the high fatality rate seasons of 2008 and 2009 in Victoria, and the Warrnambool Carnival when three jumps horses died. In his nine years of racing, Dandy won prize money of approximately $80,000. This narrative illustrates many of the human behaviours and values that underpin working with jumps horses and forming human-horse relationships. The narrative considers the knowledge required to identify a potential jumps horse and the patience and empathy required to train, condition and, subsequently, compete a jumps horse. Importantly, the narrative shows how the human-horse bond is formed through "*the miles and miles of work*" together and that such relationships may last well beyond a racing career, with such horses continuing to live longer-term in close physical proximity to their owners or trainers.

Dandy currently lives in a paddock in the backyard of his owner's home. He still works with Harry, helping to lead young horses in training for racing. Harry purchased Dandy in 2004, the most expensive horse he had ever purchased, at Au$10,000, describing him as "*a good old horse that I thought we could have some fun with*". Harry referred to Dandy by nickname throughout the interview and recalled: "*I seen him advertised in the Winning Post. It was right about when equine influenza was on. So I had to go through a bit of stuff for that to get him. We rang up, got it all organised, got him over here".* When Dandy first arrived in Victoria, he was "*just like, very gutted up and* [a] *bit like a greyhound, just ready to go racing.* As a consequence of Dandy's lean

physical appearance, ("*gutted up*", meaning thin waisted, greyhound like in appearance), rather than immediately competing this horse, Harry *"sent him out home for about two months to the farm. I said he just needs to be a horse for a while, so we just sent him out there. He wandered round out there,* [we] *drenched him* (treated him for internal parasites) [and gave him] *plenty of feed. He looked good.* [We] *brought him back, started working on him. He was going really well".* Harry recalled that Dandy was "*very, very sore in the back",* probably reflecting the repeated physical stresses from jumping. Rather than trying to jump a sore horse, Harry "*got a bloke that does Bowen Therapy and remedial massage on horses".* Dandy was so sore that

> [h]*e was sort of savage and wanting to bite. He had been racing sore for a very long time. So then, within a couple of days after the rub, you could feel it. I said he's still sore, but he's a big improvement. So then gave him, I think he had two more rubs. After that, I give all the horses a rub about every five or six weeks* [laugh].

Harry related how Dandy started to improve once his soreness dissipated:

> *After his third rub, we were just getting ready and he was going pretty well, and I was going to give him a run on the flat. He started to feel really good and he was bucking around and carrying on out in his yard out there. He did the splits with his back legs, you could hear where he'd gone* [cracking noise] *like that. And he just was as sore as anything, and I thought, 'jeez he's bad, this horse. I don't know what's wrong with him'. Anyway, got the vet and he'd put a hairline fracture in his pelvis. So, he's very lucky that he didn't haemorrhage and bleed to death. So, we had to confine him to a little space,* [a] *12 by 12 yard for three months, and then just open it* [the yard] *up a little bit after three months, then a little* [more]*, once he had like six months confined.*

After six months of confinement, Harry let Dandy out of his yard and his training recommenced. Harry's recollection of Dandy's behaviour was as follows:

> *We let him out* [laugh]. *Dad was there, and he just took off running and bucking and carrying on* [laughing] *and he was just loving it, cos he was just, he's a silly horse. Like, he carries on like he's a little two-year-old. He just loves bucking*

> *and squealing and carrying on all the time. That season, Dandy completed about five or six trials, like just to get him going again, jumping.*

Reflecting the patience required to train a jumps horse, it took two years for Dandy to race: "*His first run in two years was over 3,800 metres. He went really well. Wasn't the best ride, but he went very, very well. Then his next start was about 10 days later and he ran third at Warrnambool*". At his fourth jumps race,

> [*h*]*e was in front and he was bowling along beautifully and, just as he landed over a jump, his feet just went straight out in front from underneath him and he just slipped and just went on his side. And then, as he got up, a horse poleaxed him again, in where his hip was, where he had his broken pelvis, and when he come back, he was walking like he'd done his pelvis again.*

Dandy survived with bruising and "*five weeks later and the last jumps for the season, he ran third at Coleraine and he went really good. And that was the end of the season, so then we put him out".* Although this horse "*never won a race, he got very, very consistent. That's why* [jockey name withheld] *loves him and he always used to say he's as game as Ned Kelly, cos he just tries his heart out all day*". Harry consistently described each and every one of Dandy's races as a "*good race".* The next year, "*he got a little knock on his leg and a staphylococcus infection in his fetlock. I had to give him two weeks off and then slowly bring him up again. It was about nearly eight weeks between runs*". Harry's description of Dandy's race, when he finally started jumping again, reflected his empathy with Dandy: "*he was only beaten about 15 lengths. He ran fifth and that was a huge run. He was so uncomfortable on the ground all the way round, you could just feel, he was feeling every stride. He just tried his heart out*".

Dandy's last season of racing in 2012 involved Harry and Dandy "*doing miles and miles and miles on the beach."* That year, Dandy ran in the one of the most prestigious jumps races at Warrnambool: *"He ran in the* [name withheld]. *He did all the chasing, all the way he chased. He was second when they jumped the last jump, and that run, 50 metres, he just started to fade. It was a travesty of justice that Dandy didn't run a place".*

To Harry, Dandy always ran a good race, and what he loved in Dandy was that "*he just tries his heart out all day*". This relationship between Harry and Dandy was based on

working together, of "*miles and miles and miles of work*", patience and empathy over an extended period of nearly 10 years. Harry acknowledged Dandy's part in constructing and maintaining their longer-term relationship: "*I love Dandy, he's just an old warhorse."* Harry then acknowledged Dandy's role in constructing their relationship: "*I think it's more him* [than me] *though. He's just, he was just a super horse, and he's a great old horse. He was a good old, good, hard-trying horse".* It was then that Harry's wife, who had listened to our discussion, interrupted with, *"It's the combination though. He puts a lot of work into all his jumpers. Any of them would do what Dandy did".*

I was introduced to Dandy in the paddock he lived in, just outside of Harry's home. As we went into his paddock, Dandy strolled up to Harry and rested his head on his shoulder. Harry turned to me and pointed to his stables and horse truck and said: *"You know Dandy paid for all of this. H*e's *just special, yeah, he'll never leave the place".*

7.10. 'Just something about him': Socks and Cathy

The following narrative describes Socks, a now retired 15-year-old thoroughbred racehorse, owned by Cathy, a Warrnambool trainer, and his current owner. The narrative sheds light on how humans choose a thoroughbred for a jumps racing career. The narrative also illustrates the coproduction of a longer-term human-horse relationship and is an example of an "intimate coproduced encounter" (Dashper 2017, p X). This narrative also shows how humans can experience conflicting emotions, both deeply loving their horse, but at the same time acknowledging the risk of their horse partner dying through "*what he loved doing*".

Socks now lives with Cathy on a small acreage, following his retirement from racing. Cathy rides Socks on the beach at Warrnambool and also hunts him with her local hunt club. Cathy lives on the outskirts of Warrnambool and has trained and worked with jumps horses for around 20 years. This narrative describes the intimate and special relationship between Cathy and Socks. As shown in this narrative, Socks coconstructed their relationship. Cathy described Socks as "*a gentle big horse, and a safe jumper"*, who would call to her and come running to her in the paddock, a horse she trusted, and a horse who "*has never broken that trust"* who had "*found his home for life with me* [Cathy]".

Before he started jumps racing, Socks was a successful Western Australian racehorse who was originally brought to Victoria to continue his flat racing career. According to Cathy, he had a "*long career over in Perth. He'd won the WA Derby in Perth, the Cup and that".* At the time, his owners were keen for him to run in "*the better races over here. He was supposed to be in preparation for the Melbourne Cup, but he kept coming down with injuries".* He was then sold, as his owners "*decided they were pulling the pin on him, so that's when* [trainer two name withheld] *got a heap of owners together and bought him".* According to Cathy, "[trainer one name withheld] *originally earmarked him for a jumping horse because he's a stayer and he had his previous success over in Perth. They're the ones you look for as a jumper".* By that time, Socks had "*lost any interest on the flat. He just didn't want to race. He'd go out there and just canter around behind them. He just lost that fighting spirit".* When Socks raced at the country race tracks of "*Edenhope and Donald, he ran last on the flat".* His race performances at that point of his career were so bad that the "*stewards warned* [trainer two name withheld] *about running a slow horse that didn't want to race anymore".* But, according to Cathy, "[trainer two name withheld] *said, 'well, put a jump in front of him. He'll want to race'".* Cathy thought that *"it was always their aim to jump him".*

For Cathy, there: *"was just something about him and me that just clicked from when he first came to me. I think it was 2009 or 2008, something like that".* Socks had been with another trainer in *"preparation for the Melbourne Cup that year",* but he "*had trouble catching him. He gave him to me and he said, 'don't put him out in one of your paddocks, because you won't be able to catch him', because it took them hours to catch him this day".* In any event, Cathy had forgotten that advice and she "*worked him the next morning. I didn't even think; just threw him out in the little paddock. Got there that afternoon* [and] *thought, 'oh, I'm not going to be able to catch it'. Anyway, he walked straight to me with ears pricked".*

This "*bit of a special horse"* won the Brierly Steeplechase while he was in training with [trainer two name withheld], "*a race I've always wanted to win."* Cathy described her emotions when Socks won the Brierly:

> *Oh, I cried. I just cried. I've watched the race a thousand times, but yeah, I shake. I used to shake every time, even so long beforehand, because he was a horse. It was surreal. I was dreaming he would win, but I'd never really believed that he would win it. It was amazing when he did. I think I screamed.*

The boys were with me, my kids. They said I just screamed and yelled and then started crying.

Reflecting Liam's earlier comments about trusting the horse to work the jump out, Cathy regarded Socks as a "*very safe jumper"* and thus he was:

good to watch, because I trusted him. He was very sure-footed. If he got in close, you knew he was going to get himself out of it. He had the ability to stand right off them too, so he never had - I was never really worried about him falling, which is probably a bit arrogant of me.

Because she had such a close relationship with Socks, "i*t was hard watching him",* Cathy acknowledged the inherent conflict that existed between her love for this horse and the knowledge that Socks could fall or even die in a jumps race. "*You're excited, but then there's a little bit of anxiety you always have in the back of your head. I mean, it would have been devastating if something happened to him. If it did, at least he died doing what he loved doing".*

Cathy described how she came to own Socks when he retired from jumps racing: "*I don't think anybody had a say in whether he came to me or not. They were told. I just said, 'he's my horse', and there was just no question".* Cathy acknowledged her relationship with Socks was exceptional; a closeness with a horse that she had never before experienced: "*I'm obsessed with him. It's pathetic. I've never had a bond like that with another horse. My very first thoroughbred, she was a real sweetheart, a real softy. She was really kind, but not like him."*

Cathy described Socks as "*He's just a girl's horse, loves girls"* and then recalled how Socks would "*call to me. He'd come trotting down the paddock, and when you hear things like* [that] *other people can't catch him, it's nice to have this horse that comes up to you".* But Socks was also "*just so gentle with me"* and this set him apart from other horses: *"A lot of horses, they come up and you catch them and give them a pat, and they might give you a little nudge or something, but he would just be in your face. I've always been obsessed with the horse and he's always been obsessed with me".*

Cathy related how she and Socks work together on Warrnambool's beach:

I'd take him and my other horse to the beach. I ride my other horse and Socks just follows us. So, he's off the lead and I wouldn't do that with any other horse. I wouldn't trust another horse. Him, you just let him loose and he just follows.

He has never broken that trust. I don't know anybody who's got a connection with a horse like I do with Socks.

7.11. 'He died doing what he loved': Star and Cathy

The final narrative explores the death of a jumps horse and how this was represented by his human partner and by those opposed to jumps racing. Star's death provides both an example of an intimate relationship between a human and horse and of what McKee (2016) characterised as the 'darker side' of jumps racing, and the tragic death of a horse while jumping.

In an eight year career, Star spent only 12 months racing on the flat before he transitioned to hurdle races and, later, to steeplechases. Star raced in both South Australia and Victoria, and competed in several of the more prestigious steeplechases, such as the Brierly and von Doussa. He was perhaps typical of the sort of horse described by Gary as "*honest*" or, as put by Liam, "*just one of those horses everyone loves",* a horse that "*had determination and guts"*. When Star retired from racing, he was given to Cathy. She described him as *"beautiful, that horse, an absolute gentleman. He was a nice horse. He loved his jumps. He was retired. He won a few big jumps races with him and they retired him. I had him for about three months".* After those three months, his owner took him back to test a new training procedure "*because they knew him so well,* [they] *wanted to use him as a guinea pig to see if it improved their lung capacity and all that stuff."* According to Cathy, he did so well in this new training regime that "*they took him back and put him into work".* Star recommenced steeplechasing and at "*his first jump start, then he went. That was jockey error. He had some useless little jockey on him over at Oakbank. He was a big, safe jumper, but five strides out, the jockey's like this* [laughs]". Cathy did not speak of death, but rather, "*he went to heaven*". Cathy related how she had watched Star fall, smashing his shoulder:

> *I felt gutted, betrayed. I watched it on the big screen. I had to delete his race. I kept it there for about two years. In the end, I had to delete it, and I couldn't ever see that again. I watched it heaps, trying to work out what happened, but it's just the jockey. He wasn't even looking up, just head down and, at the last minute, and he's took off about a stride-and-a-half out.*

Star was euthanized after this fall. In the aftermath, Cathy was unable to speak to her colleague, the trainer, who had taken him back and recommenced Star's steeplechasing career:

> *I didn't speak to* [trainer name withheld] *for 12 months. It took me starting to say hello to him before he would speak to me. I blamed* [trainer name withheld] *for a long time, but then you get past it and you realise he didn't want it to happen. He was, was one of the stable's - well, he was the stable's favourite horse.* [Trainer name withheld] *has got all these good horses. The lane ways at his stables are named after the favourites, the good horses. One of them's 'Star's Lane'. It's not as if he* [trainer name withheld] *wanted the horse to die. He loved the horse too.*

What was it about Star's death and their relationship that made this ordinary jumps horse so grieved? According to Redmalm (2016), grief may be considered as a phenomenon of interdependence, such that for someone to be grieved, that being has to be considered irreplaceable (Redmalm 2016). In addressing grieving for pets, Redmalm uses the construct of Butler (2009), who suggests that three things contribute to such grieving. Firstly, the loss must be unique and not replaceable. To Cathy, Star was "*beautiful, an absolute gentleman",* who, "*loved his jumps*". Star was "*one of mine*", unique and special to her. Secondly, his death at his first jumps start back in racing was not predictable. Cathy was both "*gutted"* and *"betrayed*". Finally, Cathy shared bodily empathy with this horse. Care giving requires empathetic engagement (Jones and Gruen 2016). Star lived in very close physical proximity to Cathy's house. The horse was woven into the fabric of Cathy's daily life, a daily presence, a source of routine and stability through her riding, feeding and caring for him. In the aftermath of Star's death, Cathy reconfigured how she related to her social world within racing, and she changed the sub-community in which she was part, by not speaking to the horse's trainer for over two years. Redmalm also references Butler's (2009) concept that grievable loss is always an embodied experience. It is not only human life that is finite and precious. When pets pass away, they leave not only a relational void, but also a physical one, reflecting the physical nature of many personal human-animal interactions (Redmalm 2016). Although Cathy added, "[*y*]*ou get over it as time goes by",* she still grieved for this horse. Cathy still retained a physical memento of him, a rug: "*I kept a rug, his rug.*

I bought it for him the night before. It's still in its bag. It's his rug. It's in the shed". Cathy was unable to bring herself to use it on another horse, such was her sense of loss.

The Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses conducted a memorial service and eulogy for Star at Oakbank where he died, describing his death as "reprehensible" and a "public execution" that damaged the racing industry, turning people away from racing (Iannella 2012). His death was broadcast nationally on television for several days (Sexton 2012). Angry letters to the editor about his death protested the widespread cruelty of jumps racing and deaths of horses (The Advertiser 2012). The Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses subsequently used Star's fall, captioned with his name and fall date with the logo R.I.P. on their banners. In death, Star became an ongoing symbol of opposition to jumps racing and his image continues to be used by the Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses (see Figure 7.1

Figure 7-1: A fatal fall at Oakbank, May 2012. (Photograph reproduced with permission of Liss Ralston (banjumpsracing.com) and is used by the Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses)

7.12. Conclusions

Participants who are involved in jumps racing believe that most horses love jumping and that jumps racing gives horses a rejuvenated attitude to racing. Jumps horses were characteristically described as being of kind character, having individual personalities and being loved by their human partners, not simply for their racing performances, but also for their characters and bonds with their humans. In contrast, opponents of jumps racing represented jumps horses as failed racehorses who were involved in jumps racing through coercion and human dominance.

Human empathy and patience were presented by members of the jumps racing fraternity as the skills required to successfully train and compete a jumps horse. Several participants acknowledged a sustained and deep connection to individual horses. Such human-horse relationships were longer-term and extended beyond the racing career of these horses. Several horses remained with their human partners well into their retirement from jumps racing.

Horses contributed to the human-horse relationship, with their behaviours often influencing their training and the human-horse partnership. To adequately train a jumps horse required engagement with the agency of individual horses. For the human participants engaged in jumps racing, training horses to jump was all about engaging the natural behaviours and abilities of the horses, letting the horses take control of jumping obstacles and working this out for themselves. The trainer's role was to recognise the horse's natural ability and engage with the agency of the horse.

The human-horse relationship in jumps racing may differ from that in flat racing. It is characteristically a partnership involving mutual trust between human and horse to successfully jump obstacles. Many of these human-horse relationships are sustained well into the retirement of individual horses. This continuing regard and affection for horses, keeping them in close proximity to their human partner after their racing career ends, forms part of the fraternity values.

Chapter 8: The Future of Australian Jumps Racing

8.1. Introduction

In Chapter 8, I present an analysis of participant views about the future of jumps racing that are organised around four emergent themes derived from the analysis of interviews. These themes collectively explore the ethical, economic and political challenges facing the future of Australian jumps racing as perceived by participants against a background of continuing opposition to jumps racing and the uncertainty generated by the South Australian parliamentary enquiry.

8.2. 'We're 99% of the way there'

At the time of the interviews, the South Australian parliamentary enquiry into a possible ban of jumps racing in that state was recently announced. The enquiry reflected an apparently widespread public opposition to jumps racing in South Australia. This enquiry was initiated by the minister for racing, Leon Bignell, after the Greens' member of the legislative assembly, Tammy Franks, introduced a bill to ban jumps racing (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2016; Franks 2015). Concurrently, the South Australian Jockey Club publicly announced their intention to withdraw from jumps racing, highlighting the divisions between Thoroughbred Racing South Australia (who remain supportive of jumps racing) and the South Australian Jockey Club (who wish to end jumps racing at Morphettville) (see Chapter 6). For some participants involved in jumps racing, this alignment of the parliamentary inquiry, the publicly hostile Racing Minister Bignell and an unsupportive South Australian Jockey Club, prompted a feeling of betrayal and a sense of uncertainty about the future of jumps racing in Australia (see also Chapter 6). The 2016 South Australian parliamentary inquiry emerged as a key issue for many participants, with regard to their sense of this future, regardless of whether they were Victorian, South Australian, supporters or opponents of jumps racing.

Dianna, a long-time public opponent of jumps racing, reflected on the divisive politics of jumps racing in South Australia and her concern that the South Australian parliamentary committee "*will simply just drag it on for a few more years and it'll* [jumps racing] *get propped up for a little bit longer".* However, despite Dianna's sense that political machinations will delay the end of jumps racing, she was confident that

"it will eventually peter out. That's how I think it will end". Dianna's confidence stems, not just from her perception of unwavering political opposition for jumps racing, but from her interactions with members of the South Australian parliament who publicly support jumps racing:

> *Everyone tells me in this place* [South Australian parliament], *even those who support jumps racing and will get out publicly and back it to the hilt, say, 'Don't worry.* [Dianna] *it's going to die out pretty soon anyway'.* [This] *is what they always end the conversations with. That's their attitude and these are the people who are in this place that are pro jumps.*

In Dianna's view, jumps racing was retained on the South Australian racing programme due to "*a few families here really, and a handful of, a small coterie of people"* who fought for this sport even though they understood that they no longer had the support of the wider community. In using the term 'coterie', Dianna implicitly identifies the fraternity of jumps racing and their influence within the South Australian parliament. Dianna opined that an end to jumps racing in South Australia, would eventually lead to an end of jumps racing in Victoria because of the co-dependencies between the two states to find sufficient horses and trainers to fill the race programme:

> *I think if one state goes, the other state goes, to be honest. And I'm pretty sure advocates on both sides of the pro and anti-jumps debate believe that because, where are the animals going to be coming from, and the trainers? If one state goes, the other state goes, in terms of ending jumps.*

Stevie, an animal activist and prominent public opponent of jumps racing, viewed the parliamentary inquiry as a successful consequence of the prolonged campaign of opposition to jumps racing. He also regarded the inquiry as evidence that public values about the treatment of animals have shifted decisively in favour of arguments that jumps racing was no longer defensible. Like Dianna, Stevie therefore anticipated that a ban on jumps racing in South Australian would place increased pressure on Victorian racing authorities to also end jumps racing: "*If jumps racing does end very shortly in South Australia, to have one state go at it alone will immensely increase the amount of pressure on that state to get rid of it. Whereas previously, we had a stalemate".* Although Stevie was confident that, "*in South Australia, we feel that we're 99% of the way there. It just needs that final push".* He added that *"it still may take a few more*

years to finally stamp it out. I think jumps racing will be one of those things that probably takes about five or 10 years to stamp out", which is a reflection of the strong base of support for jumps racing in Victoria's regional communities and their racing clubs.

Like opponents, Dianna and Stevie, some members of the jumps racing fraternity saw the prospect of the end of jumps racing in South Australia as spelling the end of this activity in Australia altogether. Gary, a successful long-term trainer and advocate for jumps racing, described what he perceived to be the interdependence of the Victorian and South Australian jumps race programmes:

> *It has a big roll-on effect to Victoria if it's banned in South Australia, because it helps balance the season. And for different levels of horses, there are races. Like, the South Australian races are probably a level below our top races here. So there's a place for those horses that are in between the maiden and the elite level. There are races there that cater for them. South Australian horses come over here and go very well too*.

Reflecting on the divided politics of South Australian racing, especially the position taken by the South Australian Jockey Club, Monty said: "*Would racing care if jumps racing disappeared? Well, it wouldn't in South Australia. It would in Victoria. Absolutely. It won't do, actually* [laugh] *anything for racing, apart from destroy something of the fabric of it".* Monty also believed that the impacts of a South Australian ban on jumps racing would affect South Australian country race clubs, including the iconic Oakbank Racing Club. He said, "*In the end, if this bill goes through, that's Oakbank gone. That's Gawler gone."* In contrast, Jim, a long-term Victorian supporter of jumps racing, dismissed the effects of a possible ban in South Australia. He said, "*It's got no impact on Victoria at all if it finished in South Australia*". In Jim's opinion:

> *The South Australian Jockey Club don't want it* [jumps racing]. *It's going to finish. There's a little interest among the trainers in South Australia. It is going to finish in South Australia. It's just a matter of when it finishes. Once Frances* [Frances Nelson] *goes as chairperson of Thoroughbred Racing South Australia, it* [jumps racing] *will finish. There's no question.*

This uncertainty about the future of jumps racing was reflected in the declining industry participation in South Australian jumps racing. As shown in Chapter 6, the number of South Australian jumps horse numbers had decreased by 22% from the 2014/15 race year to the 2015/2016 race year; the highest decline in the past ten years (see Table 6.1). Ian, a South Australian racing club official and jumps horse owner, expressed his concerns about this uncertainty and the flow-on impacts of low participation by South Australian owners and trainers on economic investment in jumps racing.

> *From here on, I don't know where we're going to go. We haven't got any young riders at this stage. How do I get a person* [a prospective owner] *to pay up for a jumper when they haven't even told us whether we're going to be racing at all*? *We don't know what we're programming for the next four months. What do you think would happen to the trainers? Do you think the owners are going to pay $70 a day and wait for everybody to make up their minds* [laugh]*? It takes you four or five months to find out, you know, by the time you try them* [jumps horses]. *You school them and he's* [a horse] *at the end of his preparation. You give him a spell and you bring him all back, so it's not as easy as these people think it is.*

Doug, a racing club official, was emotive and emphatic in his comments about the split between the South Australian Jockey Club and Thoroughbred Racing South Australia and about the future of jumps racing: "*There's almost too much antagonism in racing between those who are in favour of jumps racing and those who oppose jumps racing, and they keep hitting like this* [mimes action of fists clashing]". Doug believed that the South Australian Jockey Club is

> *not doing things to make their racing profitable, so they're relying on their non-racing. They'd much rather have a conference a year than put money into running the race meeting and promoting the racing. They're not looking at how the hell do we ensure that we're going to survive over the next 10 years?*

As put by Monty, an enthusiastic supporter of jumps racing and race club member, lamenting the dispute between Thoroughbred Racing South Australia and the South Australian Jockey Club: "*You know Australia has few enough long-standing traditions as it is, so again, to sort of destroy another one, wilfully and negligibly,*

seems sad". Bill, a well-regarded long-term South Australian trainer, was acutely aware of the declining numbers of jumps horses trained and domiciled in South Australia. According to him, a "*lack of South Australian trainer support"* signalled the inevitable *"natural death of jumps racing in South Australia. My personal view is* [that] *if we can keep going for another three years, we'll be doing well".*

However, Fred, a prominent supporter of jumps racing, saw a better future if increased cooperation between South Australian and Victoria could overcome the existing interstate rivalry. Fred understood jumps racing to be a valued tradition, strongly connected to locations and the identity of rural communities. Fred recognised that "*one of the unique things they* (South Australia) *have, that nobody else can duplicate, is Oakbank. Oakbank is absolutely special and unique. It attracts a huge crowd".* Fred wanted to build on Oakbank's distinctive traditional character "*to build it up as one of our special, unique features",* but also to make it more cosmopolitan, with wider appeal, by changing its current Easter format to

> *make sure Oakbank works. I'd be looking for a long weekend, a night where there's a footy match on the Saturday night at Adelaide Oval involving one of the interstate teams. I'd put together a package to bring Victorians across to go to the races. Just make it an event to bring thousands of people across, busloads of Victorians, to come to the races* [and] *spend dollars in our community.*

Fred also saw jumps racing as not just generating direct economic benefit and serving as a social hub for its regional communities. Fred thought that overcoming rivalries within jumps racing and building on its traditions could help to ensure the future.

> *We* [South Australia and Victoria] *don't work together enough. We have to grow the interest and grow the betting across the whole of Australia. If no Victorians went across to South Australia,* [the] *industry would be even smaller. And what the South Australians have got to realise, they've got to be less parochial and they've got to realise* [that] *they come across and win races over here* [Victoria] *occasionally and that's good for the industry.*

8.3. 'Massive costs and no return to racing'

According to Lemon (2012, p 103), thoroughbred racing in Australia as a whole "is driven by new imperatives to increase betting turnover and revenue, to cut costs by

closing less profitable racetracks and to generate commercial sponsorship." As explained in Chapter 6, and as noted by several participants, horse racing is now competing with a variety of other activities and entertainments, for both public attendance and for gambling dollars. New forms of competing entertainments, leisure pursuits and gambling experiences have changed the environment in which horse racing now operates. This means that racing must retain public and consumer support in order to remain relevant and attractive as an entertainment and gambling medium. In this context, Lemon observes that jumps races are especially vulnerable because they "are expensive to run, attract less betting and become the target of protesters" (Lemon 2013, p 103).

Some participants agreed with Lemon's assessment that the cost of conducting jumps racing, together with reduced gambling interest, were problematic. Peter, a racing administrator, regarded thoroughbred racing as not simply a sport or recreation, but an activity that "*is now a business*". Even though Peter was connected closely to jumps racing through his employment as a racing administrator, he regarded this activity as incurring "*massive costs and no return to racing. The gambling turnover's not there. We don't have a strong turnover on jumps racing. We don't make any money out of jumps racing"*.

In contrast to those participants who thought that jumps racing faced a limited and shorter-term future, some participants offered an industry based explanation of how they thought jumps racing might survive in the shorter to medium term. Fred, a Victorian supporter of jumps racing, also took an economic lens to the future of jumps racing, but regarded the challenges of jumps racing as essentially the same as those facing thoroughbred racing as a whole. According to Fred, this challenge is to adapt and maintain its social relevance as an entertainment and gambling medium, and to attract the next generation of racegoers.

> *To continue to grow racing, we've got to attract new entrants as people go through the gate and in gambling. One of the challenges, if you go back 20 years or 15 years,* (for) *85% of the people, their first bet was on a horse race. Now 85% of people's first bet is actually on a sporting event. It's a significant shift.*

> *So, we've actually got to get those young people exposed to racing and the joy of racing very early. That's why the emphasis on the entertainment and the other things is really important and the race day attraction programme. I believe* [that] *one of the challenges for the racing industry is how to come up with those new ideas, just to get people who would otherwise not go to the races, to come along, have a good time and perhaps come back again, or think about having a bet in other circumstances.*

Neil, a racing administrator closely connected to jumps racing, also linked the prospect of a "*new history*" for jumps racing, with the need for economically rational decision-making, but he also articulated some challenges specific to this activity:

> *It's about the economics of the sport around gambling turnover and field sizes* [number of horses in each race] *and things like that, and the costs to run it, that we need to start improving on. So, field sizes need to go up, wagering needs to improve, costs around running it need to start coming down. My view is, don't have unrealistic expectations around the growth of jumps racing. At 70 races, I don't think the volume's there for enough people to get involved. There's not enough money available. There's already two or three stables that heavily dominate the sport.*

Peter, another racing administrator, believed that a metropolitan presence for jumps racing was unnecessary and that the immediate future of jumps racing lay in a geographical retreat of this activity to its regional and rural heartlands as he believed that "*a metropolitan presence is not necessary for its* [economic] *survival".* Peter's comments reflect the low metropolitan attendances at the winter jumps race meetings at Sandown race track, Melbourne's only metropolitan jumping venue. Peter spoke about the need to have generational change to the administration of racing and have *"the right people running racing, people who love racing, know and understand racing, but also who are twenty first century enough to know that they're actually in a business… an entertainment and gambling business."* Although Peter agreed that jumps racing "*is a traditional sport and we should hold on to a little bit of tradition",* he also believed that "*it's not good enough to continue to run* [jumps] *racing as it is".*

8.4. 'One day they will just say, 'that's it''

Although the previous two sections document the ways in which some participants

think that jumps racing can continue to be economically and socially viable, supporters, as well as opponents, envisaged the end of jumps racing in Australia. The view from within racing foreshadowed an eventual decision by racing authorities to end jumps racing, so as to protect the reputation of their "*business*" (Neil).

Eddie, a racing photographer, forecast the abrupt end of jumps racing in Victoria: "*The whole decision is going to be made by Racing Victoria eventually. They will just say, 'right, we've had enough'"*. Peter, a racing administrator, also believed that Racing Victoria might abruptly end jumps racing: "*It's not going to end gradually. One day they'll just say, 'that's it', which has been done before by Rob Hulls at Warrnambool. He just stopped the jumps racing and it's not going to just float off. It's just going to, one day, they'll just say, 'okay, that's enough'".* The scenario Peter refers to reflects the circumstances of 2009, when the then racing minister, Rob Hulls, forced Racing Victoria to act and stop jumps racing in the middle of the Warrnambool Carnival following the deaths of three horses (see Chapters 5 and 6). Peter understood that changed community attitudes to horse welfare and safety, promoted through campaigns to end jumps racing, had impacted Racing Victoria and the business of racing. "*Racing Victoria have got a brand to protect and they don't want to see their brand being dragged through the mud by horses falling and causing injury to themselves and others".* Neil, another racing administrator, believed that the end of jumps racing could be brought about "*if we* [Victoria] *had multiple seasons of high fatalities and we* (racing authorities) *didn't feel like that there was a solution to address that".* Neil acknowledged that "t*he government now, they're not so generous. I would think, if there was a public perception that jumps racing was cruel and it was going to damage the racing minister's profile, it wouldn't continue".*

Although a longer term and confirmed jumps racing enthusiast, Jim was unemotional about the impact of a decision to end jumps racing: "*All that would happen if jumps racing finished, would be a pool of 20 jockeys that would just go back to riding in the few high weights and, eventually, would just be lost to the industry. The trainers would adapt"*. Although Jim believed that Victorian jumps racing would continue in the medium term, regardless of the outcomes of the South Australian enquiry, he was conflicted about the longer-term future, citing overseas examples of signs that, worldwide, jumps racing was under pressure and struggling to maintain its place on the

racing programme. This is a reflection of the global economic pressures facing thoroughbred racing, and especially jumps racing, with its lower participation base.

> *The trend worldwide has been that jumps racing has gone. It's phased out. It went in South Africa, it went in Canada, and it just went in three other states in Australia. The number of owners in the United Kingdom has dropped* [from] *something like 4,000 to 2,700. It was a dramatic fall away in the ownership of jumps racing, compared to flat racing.*

8.5. 'Protecting their territory'

In late 2016, the South Australian parliamentary committee concluded its inquiry. The committee received 30 submissions from individual members of the public, from peak racing bodies and racing clubs in both Victoria and South Australia, and also from prominent animal advocacy groups and opponents of jumps racing, such as the Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses and the Royal Society for the Protection of Animals. Several Victorian racing clubs, including Warrnambool and Casterton, made submissions reflecting their interest in maintaining the South Australian jumps racing programme. The committee did not recommend a ban on jumps racing and gave the activity a three-year reprieve from further enquiry in South Australia. Significantly, the committee acknowledged that changing community attitudes and values required the thoroughbred racing industry to implement further accountable and transparent protections to safeguard the wellbeing of both jockeys and jumps horses. As part of this, the committee, noting widespread public sentiment for a duty of care toward animals, particularly those in sport, said that "society has a duty of care to consider the psychological and physical effects on animals and to act accordingly to afford animals a positive experience and minimise harm and suffering wherever possible" (Select Committee on Jumps Racing, South Australian Parliament 2016, p 5).

In line with Peter's observation about the need for jumps racing to return to its heartlands, the immediate future of jumps racing seems tied to a move to the country and a continuing association with the rural communities that are the historical heartlands of jumps racing, especially Warrnambool in western Victoria, and Oakbank in South Australia. In 2017, there will be only two jumps race meetings held in Melbourne and the remainder of the 68 Victorian jumps racing programme will be conducted at regional locations. For the first time in over a century, an entire jumps

race meeting, comprising of a six-race jumps programme, will be held at Ballarat (Racing Victoria 2016). Consistent with this increased regional focus, jumps races will recommence at Sale and a jumps trial will be held at Terang (Racing Victoria 2016). In South Australia, only two jumps race meetings are programmed for metropolitan Morphettville, with the remainder of the programme to be held at country racing clubs. And, in South Australia, the newly elected chair of Oakbank Racing Club has signalled reconsideration of racing on Easter Monday given the continuing low attendances on the second day of the annual Easter carnival (Wilson 2017).

Dianna, a prominent and well-known opponent of jumps racing, viewed the move of jumps racing to regional areas as "*protecting their territory and that industry".* To Dianna, moving jumps racing to its regional heartlands would make it harder to promote anti-jumps racing messages: *"Putting it in the rural areas, and the restrictions that are placed on people who attempt to take any footage of jumps racing, no publicity is able to be put out online or on television that is adverse to the jumps industry".* The restrictions Dianna refers to involve restricting photography of races and race meetings to formally accredited racing photographers, a means to protect the copyrights of images taken at racecourses. Secondly, there are also regulations that prevent photographers getting too physically close to horses during a race, a safety measure intended to protect horses, jockeys and photographers. Dianna maintained that it would be preferable if jumps racing remained in the metropolitan area:

> *I think the best thing for the anti-jumps campaigners would be if it stayed in the metropolitan area and it was able to be videoed more easily by anyone with a mobile phone with a camera function. At Morphettville, who would put it up on YouTube? I think that would be quite damaging to the jumps industry. I'd like it to stay at Morphettville for a strategic reason of the greater exposure that there would be of when events do go wrong.*

Many supporters of jumps racing welcomed the move out of the metropolitan areas to those country locations where jumps racing is maintained as a tradition, as a sense of place, as a sense of community, as a craft and, therefore, anti-jumps messages will meet much sterner resistance than in the city. Doug, a South Australian racing club official, opined that "*there is a legitimate place for jumps racing still on the calendar*" and he welcomed the move of jumps racing to regional and country areas: "*I think a lot of*

people have been really glad that Sandown was closed. It's now going to Casterton, Warrnambool and Ballarat and Bendigo. It's making it more a country thing. It's out of city sight". Liam, another successful trainer, also welcomed the move to regional areas and out of the city: "*I don't personally think it* [metropolitan presence] *matters. I'm quite happy if it's away from the limelight of the city".* He believed that this move would reduce the media pressure because when "*you have an accident, everyone sees it and there'll be a big thing made of it because half of the media are anti-jumps racing".* Jim, a long-time jumps racing enthusiast, believed that jumps racing's future lay in the regional areas where jumps race horses and their trainers were based:

> *You've got to go get Werribee, Geelong, Kyneton, and Kilmore. You've got to get the tracks around where the horse population* [is] - *you've got to go and get them back. You've got to race on the tracks here. Not Melbourne, Coleraine and Warrnambool. You've got to race them locally. That's the first thing I'd do.*

8.6. The immediate outlook, the 2017 season

The 2017 jumps racing season in South Australia has recorded its first horse fatality with a two-horse fall in the first (hurdle) race at the Oakbank 2017 Easter Carnival. In the aftermath of this death, there are renewed public calls to ban jumps racing and the South Australian racing minister again publicly labelled jumps racing to be "cruel" and "barbaric" (Fairfax 2017). Jumps racing may have received a reprieve in the South Australian parliamentary inquiry, but any accident or horse fatality continues to fuel opposition campaigns for its end. Then, at the 2017 Warrnambool May carnival, a horse fell and broke its shoulder in the Galleywood hurdle, and was subsequently euthanized, resulting in calls by the Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses to cancel the carnival (Auld 2017; Stewart 2017).

The immediate outlook remains one of continuing societal pressure about horse safety and welfare issues, not only in jumps racing, but for thoroughbred racing overall. The 2017 season of jumps racing faces many ongoing challenges. The move back to its regional and rural heartlands may strengthen jump racing's self-identity as a traditional rural activity, further consolidate the fraternity and reinforce its traditional and historical values. Although this move is welcomed by many supporters, jumps racing will need the support of trainers and to ensure adequate participation in order to maintain the broader gambling interest in jumps racing. It will also be important to

maintain and encourage the continuing support of local communities and to maintain attendances at jumps race meetings.

Chapter 9: Values on the run: Learning from Australian jumps racing

9.1. Introduction

In this concluding Chapter, I address the research sub-questions and draw together the original contribution made by the findings presented in this thesis. This synthesis provides a comprehensive basis for addressing the overarching research question of this thesis. Finally, I identify crucial areas for future research that will further contribute to understanding the complexities of the human-horse bond.

As outlined in Chapter 1, humans and horses have now coevolved for more than 6,000 years. The specialisations of equine physiology and behaviour, in particular, and the combination of horse size and speed, have shaped the history of human interaction with horses, including their eventual domestication, a process that fundamentally changed horse and human lives, as well as the global course of human history**.** The subsequent diffusion of horse transport and horse-driven technological innovation have transformed agriculture and commerce. The ways in which humans valued horses have also been subject to continual evolution, reflecting the wider dynamics of social and cultural change, of which horses have been no small part.

As explained in Chapter 2, humans have utilised horses for entertainment since the earliest days of domestication, particularly in the form of horse racing. For over 300 years, the thoroughbred horse and horse racing have been intertwined in human cultures, social institutions, political systems and forms of identity. The history of the thoroughbred horse and the rise of the English racing model demonstrate many of the complexities and contradictions inherent in human-horse relationships. The origins of the thoroughbred horse are entwined with political power and the elite status of those associated with early horse racing and breeding. Thoroughbred horses have subsequently been implicated in processes of local and national identity formation around the world. The story of the thoroughbred horse and horse racing therefore provides insight into the shifting ways humans have encountered, shaped, represented and valued horses in modern societies, in the process offering insight more generally into changing understandings of animals.

This research has addressed the human-thoroughbred horse relationship, thoroughbred race practices, representations of the thoroughbred racehorse and the ways in which the human-thoroughbred relationship is situated, experienced, narrated and mediated through the context of Australian thoroughbred jumps racing. The central focus has been on what can be learnt from Australian jumps racing about the ways in which horses are valued. Jumps racing was chosen as the focus for this study because it represents an activity that is at the centre of a polarised controversy about competing perceptions of horse welfare and the use of animals for human entertainment. This, therefore, offers insight into the modern societal construction of animal identities and the continuing way in which human societies embody diverse and changing values about animals. This research is also timely, given the protests, inquiries and changes made to Australian jumps racing in recent years to improve horse and jockey safety and horse welfare. This research unearths the underlying values held by advocates and opponents of jumps racing to provide a basis for better understanding these competing positions and for crafting policy responses which can minimise, resolve and potentially transcend conflict on this topic.

9.2. Addressing the research questions

The overarching research question that guided the field work and interviews was: How are changing values regarding human-animal relationships in general and human-horse relationships in particular, reflected and represented in the past, present and future of Australian thoroughbred jumps racing? This question was divided into five sub-research questions, as outlined in Chapter 4. In what follows, I synthesise the key findings under each of these research sub-questions.

Sub-question 1: What economic, social, cultural and political histories have shaped jumps racing in contemporary Australia?

The people of jumps racing regard themselves as a fraternity, a group of like-minded horse people motivated by a strong sense of tradition, place, community and skilled horsemanship. Within jumps racing, being with horses is part of a way of life; their lives are structured around training horses, caring for horses, jumping horses and living with horses. Horses, jumps racing and riding horses are central to their lives and the jumps racing horse is used concurrently for racing, for pony club, for recreation and for

hunting. This concurrent use of horses for racing and for private sports and leisure, marks jumps racing as a distinct equine sub-community within thoroughbred racing.

Jumps horses are often strongly associated with human jumps racing families and many people involved in jumps racing grow up around horses and spend their entire working lives within the sub-community of jumps racing. For such people, horse knowledge is embodied and experiential and often passed down through generations. In this sense, jumps racing people were often described as having an affinity with horses, and that horses and jumps racing was 'in their blood'. Jumps racing provides both a sense of place and a distinct identity within thoroughbred racing and contemporary rural Australia. Within thoroughbred racing, jumps racing is a winter racing activity, characterised by a small human and horse participation base, poor economic returns to racing and its rural and regional communities of practice and locations.

Many rural and regional locations regard jumps racing as integral to their identity in modern Australia, representing 'country' Australia and traditional rural values, distinct from those of city dwellers. This includes a sense of nostalgia about a vibrant past, as well as strong historical, social and cultural connections to iconic jumps events and locations. Jumps racing remains especially important to its historical heartlands of support and practice around the townships of Warrnambool in south-western Victoria, and Oakbank in South Australia. Jumps racing's identity is connected to the construction of locations, such as Warrnambool and Oakbank, and their iconic jumps racing events, such as the May and Easter Carnivals. These activities draw both people and revenue to winter racing, providing a valuable economic boost that underpins important social events. With the demise of jumps racing in all other states of Australia over the past 70 years, and with the recent signs that Melbourne and Adelaide may also cease to host jumps racing in the near future, these locations and events have become, if anything, ever more central to the present and the future of jumps racing.

As explained in earlier chapters, much of the history of Australian jumps racing has been shaped by politics, including those of identity formation, both nationally and locally, as well as through the politics of class, status, gender and gambling. Oakbank's identity as a significant jumps racing carnival was defined in the twentieth century by the politics of gambling, with Alfred von Doussa's early implementation of the totaliser. The implementation of the totaliser broadened the social basis of gambling,

even allowing women to bet in public. The South Australian parliament's subsequent ban on gambling and the totaliser had disastrous economic consequences, not just for horse racing, but for the overall South Australian economy. Political activism about the treatment and use of animals by the Greens' Party resulted in the 1997 ban of jumps racing in New South Wales. Following the multiple deaths of horses in 2009, jumps racing survived in Victoria, only through the election of a new state government and supportive new premier and racing minster, who was also the local member for Warrnambool. The 2016 season of jumps racing in South Australia was conducted in an environment of considerable political uncertainty and, at times, open hostility. The South Australian Jockey Club's announcement in 2015 that it wished to cease jumps racing at metropolitan Morphettville resulted in a unique alignment between the Jockey Club, the racing minister and the Greens' Party member of parliament, Tammy Franks, and raised the possibility of an imminent ban on jumps racing in that state. For the jumps racing fraternity, this public split within racing and the position of the South Australian Jockey Club, was viewed as a betrayal. However, this public split within racing may be unsurprising, given the need for the South Australian Jockey Club to maintain public support and attendances at the only metropolitan racecourse in Adelaide in the face of negative public attitudes towards jumps racing.

Despite the reprieve given to jumps racing in South Australia by the parliamentary committee, the current racing minister, Leon Bignell, remains steadfastly opposed and publicly hostile to jumps racing. Within thoroughbred racing's administrative and regulatory bodies, opinions about the future of jumps racing are divided. Some people regard jumps racing as a high-cost activity, with little return to racing. In 2017, jumps racing appears to be retained on the racing programmes of South Australia and Victoria, due to a coterie of key influential individuals, a tiny part of horseracing tradition, repositioned by racings authorities to a country activity in its heartland regional and rural communities of practice.

Sub-question 2: How have differences between locations and scales of activity within Australia shaped jumps racing in particular places?

Australian jumps racing commenced in 1832 with a steeplechase in what is now central Sydney, 44 years after the colony was founded (see Chapter 3). Although jumps racing spread throughout the Australian colonies, its heartlands, from the beginning, were the

southern-most states of South Australia, Tasmania and Victoria, especially the rural and regional communities of south-western Victoria. By 1950, the Australian jumps racing season was confined to Victoria, Tasmania and South Australia (although there was an annual exhibition hurdle race at Sydney's Rosehill Racecourse until 1985). In twenty first century Australia, jumps racing is currently practised only in Victoria and South Australia. The locations of Warrnambool in south-western Victoria and Oakbank in South Australia remain central for jumps racing in each state, where they host iconic annual carnivals that serve as a social hub and economic generator for their local communities. The link between the activity of jumps racing and the places of Warrnambool and Oakbank remain examples of what Tuan (1974) called 'topophilia', the strong affective bond of people and communities for places associated with nostalgic memories of a past 'golden age'.

In 2017, jumps racing comprises less than 1% of the overall Australian thoroughbred racing programme and less than 2% of the races in South Australia and Victoria. Its modern practice is characterised by a low human and horse participant base. Geographically and, in terms of the human participant base, this activity is highly concentrated. Previously, three race tracks, Morphettville (Adelaide), Sandown (Melbourne) and Warrnambool (south-west Victoria), accounted for over half (55%) of this activity, with south-west Victoria its vital heartland. Three trainers in Victoria trained one in four of all jumps horses in Australia, including almost one in three in South Australia. Three jockeys accounted for over one quarter of all jump race starts (25.3%), with each participating in a majority of races. These data also indicate that the presence of jumps racing in South Australia is highly dependent upon participation from the Victorian racing industry. Despite separate administration, the South Australian and Victorian jumps race programs complement each other, providing opportunities for horses from maiden events to the more prestigious high-value steeplechases.

The empirical analysis presented in Chapter 6 demonstrates that, currently, jumps racing is neither expanding nor contracting in activity levels and participation rates. Since 2009, jumps racing appears to have achieved a period of relative stability, in terms of the number of races and horse and human participants, compared with the decline in participation and activity levels over the years 1999-2008. However, more detailed spatial analysis reveals that this stability masks an increase in Victoria and a

decline in South Australia in the number of jumps races, horses and jumps starters. Given the much larger scale of jumps racing in Victoria, compared to South Australia, the increase in the former is proportionately small while the decline in the latter is significant and leaves jumps racing in South Australia at a historical low point in 2016. This decline was viewed by many within jumps racing as reflecting the uncertainty about the future of this activity and a consequential reluctance by owners and trainers to invest in the long timeframes involved in training, accrediting and competing a jumps horse. The 2017 Australian jumps racing season will be mainly conducted at rural or regionally based locations, which marks a significant contraction of jumps racing away from capital cities to country and regional race clubs in Victoria and South Australia. This contraction of jumps racing to a majority of county race clubs reflects the combined effects of the historical outworking of processes of indifference (such as reduced interest in jumps racing as a leisure activity and revenue source for thoroughbred racing) and active opposition by animal activist and welfare groups, whose constituencies are predominantly urban.

Sub-question 3: How do participants in jumps racing experience, represent and value the horse?

The analysis of human-horse relationships within Australian jumps racing presented in Chapter 7 reveals that thoroughbred horses are valued in complex, and occasionally contradictory ways; as mates, as members of the family, for their courage, their stamina, for their temperament and for their inherent 'character', as sources of income and as livelihoods. Jumps horses are also valued as sources of employment, income and status, especially in those regional locations where jumps racing remains an important social hub and economic generator for the community. Jumps horses were characteristically described as being of kind character, having individual personalities and being loved by their human partners, not simply for their racing performances, but for their personalities and bonds with their humans. These narratives show how horses enter jumps racing, the development of longer-term relationships between humans and their horse partners, how working partnerships are formed and how humans describe horses' roles and agency in forming and contributing to these relationships. The narratives also reveal sustained and deep connections to individual horses. Such human-horse relationships were longer-term and extended beyond the racing career of these horses and well into their retirement from jumps racing.

The human-horse relationship in jumps racing is characteristically a partnership involving mutual trust between human and horse, required to successfully jump obstacles. Several participants described their continuing regard and affection for particular jumps racing horses and kept these horse partners in close physical proximity after their racing career ended. This embracing of horses within trans-human jumps racing families forms a core part of the values of the jumps fraternity.

Horses contributed to the human-horse relationship, with their behaviours often influencing their training and the human-horse partnership. To adequately train a jumps horse required engagement with the agency of individual horses. For the human participants engaged in jumps racing, training horses to jump was all about engaging the natural behaviours and abilities of the horses, letting them take control of jumping obstacles and working it out for themselves. The trainer's craft and skill centred on recognising the horse's natural ability and engaging with the agency of the horse. While some stressed the technical nature of the challenge of producing a successful jumps horse, human empathy and patience were presented by members of the jumps racing fraternity as being key to successfully training and competing a jumps horse. Working with and being with jumps horses requires, not just skills in diet, veterinary knowledge or equine science, but the highly qualitative virtues of human character, such as patience and empathy. The very nature of training a jumps horse, with the miles and miles of longer, slower work, and the accompanying human patience, explains, in part, why such horses are so valued by their human partners. These are partnerships founded in time, empathy and patience, partnerships involving understanding each other, developing mutual trust and the horse learning to jump while carrying a jockey. These are thus coevolved relationships, based on the intimate knowledge of each other, founded in sharing so much time together and, often, living in close proximity to each other.

Sub-question 4: Have the practices, perceptions and values of jumps racing advocates and supporters changed in light of the recent controversy and media debate about horse welfare?

Since the late 1980s, jumps racing has come under public and political scrutiny as a result of increasing concerns about the welfare and safety of horses. This reflects public awareness of, and opposition to, the deaths of jumps horses, as well as increased political opposition and the activities of animal activist and welfare organisations that

are opposed to jumps racing. Since 1990, jumps racing has been repeatedly reviewed by racing authorities and government, resulting in the mandating of additional safety measures.

The practices, perceptions and values of jumps racing advocates and supporters have been influenced by recent debate and controversy. Objectively, the safety record of jumps racing has improved since the peak in horse death rates (in races) that occurred in 2008 and 2009. As described in Chapter 3, this study does not include the deaths of horses in training or from other circumstances (for example, injury/illness), as such data is neither publicly available, nor systematically collected. All participants in this study acknowledged that the previous safety record and deaths and injuries to horses are unacceptable. For thoroughbred racing peak bodies and administrators, this former safety record negatively affects broader community public opinion, not just about jumps racing, but the overall reputation of racing. Racing administrators know that fatalities and accidents in jumps racing put the spotlight on the totality of thoroughbred racing and all racehorses' welfare. The increased jumps racing regulations implemented post 2008, are regarded as important, not just for the safety and the welfare of all race horses, but for also protecting the brand of racing.

A key change is the recent reduction in the frequency of metropolitan jumps racing in both Melbourne and Adelaide. The current jumps racing season will be conducted at mainly regional and rural locations in the heartlands of jumps racing's communities of support. Supporters of jumps racing have welcomed the move out of metropolitan areas. In contrast, one prominent opponent viewed the move as undesirable, believing that it would make it more difficult for anti-jumps racing media coverage.

The Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses (2017) has signaled that it intends to build on popular and majority public opposition to challenge the "social license" of horse racing and practices, such as whipping and jumps racing (Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses 2017). As shown in these interviews, participants opposed to jumps racing foresee a perhaps ten-year campaign to end Australian jumps racing and will continue their efforts to influence broader public opinion and promote community attitudes to ban, or as put by Stevie, "*stamp out*" jumps racing. These opponents believe that jumps racing could last another 10 years and they will, therefore, continue their

current campaigns, with any fall or fatality in a jumps race providing them with opportunities to lobby the public and politicians to ban jumps racing.

Sub-question 5: What are the major challenges to jumps racing in the medium to longer term?

The pressure on the thoroughbred racing industry from organizations, such as the Coalition for Protection of Racehorses, is unlikely to disappear and may even increase in the short term, especially if there are further horse deaths in jumps races. In 2016, the Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses' anti-jumps campaign was given new momentum by a ban imposed on greyhound racing in New South Wales. In announcing the ban, the New South Wales premier, Mike Baird, was quoted by Mullholland (2016) and Nicholls (2016) as saying that a sport which utilises animals cannot afford to operate without a social licence and that greyhound racing has lost popular public support to exist. The ensuing public debate about animal welfare and allegations of cruelty in greyhound racing highlights both the continuing shift, as well as division, in community attitudes about animal welfare and the use of animals for human entertainment. The ultimate and politically costly reversal of this ban, only months after it was announced, is also instructive about the political lobbying power of rural constituencies that feel increasingly marginalised in mainstream politics (Cooper 2016; Godfrey 2016; Tin 2016). Most recently, the announcement that the harness racing industry will phase out the use of whips in harness racing has also encouraged more general media campaigns against practices in the racing industry and allegations of cruelty about the whipping of racehorses (Australian Harness Racing 2016; Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses 2016).

This research shows that there are three main types of challenges faced by jumps racing:

- economic challenges posed by the small scale of jumps racing, the length of the training investment required for jumps horses, increasing competition for the gambling dollar and the difficultly of attracting metropolitan racegoers;
- ethical challenges about the safety and welfare of jumps horses that reflect changed societal values and attitudes about animals and their use for human entertainment that are linked to growing levels of urbanisation and the rise of new social movements that are linked to environmental values, animal rights and sustainability; and

- political challenges created by differences between jumps racing and flats racing, interstate rivalry between jumps racing interests in Victoria and South Australia, divergence between the interests of urban and rural communities, political volatility generated by highly public animal welfare campaigns against jumps racing and the prominence of a few individual politicians with strong views (for and against) on jumps racing.

The ethical challenges to safeguard the safety and welfare of jumps horses will remain significant over the foreseeable future, and may grow more significant, depending on ongoing social processes related to questions of the status of nature and animals in wealthy modern societies. Although jumps racing has received a three-year reprieve in South Australia, the outlook is for continued societal pressure about horse safety and welfare issues, not only in jumps racing, but for thoroughbred racing overall.

The repositioning of the 2017 jumps racing season to mainly rural and regional locations poses economic challenges for jumps racing in an industry that is already struggling to maintain adequate numbers of participants, both horse and human. In South Australia, the number of jumps horses has declined significantly over the last two jumps race seasons, with participants pessimistic about its survival beyond three years, reflecting the dwindling interest in training jumps horses in South Australia. The challenge of this move to the country will be to maintain adequate attendances at race meetings, community support and gambling interest. While an end to Australian jumps racing might affect only a relatively small number of industry livelihoods, racing clubs and regional communities, the extent of this impact on these individuals, groups and places will be profound. This is particularly so for those whose lives and identities, both horse and human, are constructed around jumps racing.

Racing itself remains internally divided over jumps racing. Racing administrators could, as happened in Tasmania, precipitously end jump racing in the light of its relatively poor economic basis and the public controversy that any death of a jumps racing horse will promote, not just for jumps racing, but the social licence of thoroughbred racing itself (Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses 2016). Amongst racing administrators, opinions about jumps racing are divided. Some acknowledge that jumps racing is a high-cost and low-return-to-racing activity, maintained on the annual

race program as a bit of tradition, reflecting the influence of a coterie of committee members in both Victoria and South Australia. Given the low number of South Australian jumps horses, there may well be pressure from within racing to reduce the numbers of jumps races, and with that, reduce further the incentive to train jumps horses in South Australia. It is likely that this decline will flow on to Victoria, reducing overall opportunities for jumps racing, although not all participants foresaw this outcome.

The ongoing support of state governments for jumps racing cannot be guaranteed. South Australia's racing minster is steadfast in his opposition to the activity. In Victoria, the current minster for racing has left the fate of jumps racing to Racing Victoria (Stewart 2017). Any horse death will bring adverse publicity and, with this, calls for the minister to act to ban jumps racing. As noted by the South Australian parliament, jumps racing remains on notice: "If the traditions of the past are to continue into the twenty-first century, we need to ensure that adequate protections and appropriate whole-of-life animal welfare and safety standards are in place" (Select Committee on Jumps Racing, South Australian Parliament 2016, p 5).

9.3. Areas for future research

Current debate about the future of Australian jumps racing is characteristically one of conflicting and value-based perceptions about horses, horse-based social activities, horse welfare and safety and human-horse relationships. This debate also pivots around a number of entrenched and widening divides in Australian society more generally: between the advocacy of long-valued traditions and appeals to new social standards; between the experiences and interests of regional and urban Australia; and between economic imperatives stemming from ever-intensifying competition and values that resist translation into economic metrics.

The majority of research about the thoroughbred horse is focused on its physiology and improving its racing performance. This is unsurprising, given that the thoroughbred horse has been bred for over 300 years for the singular characteristic of speed for competition in the form of horseracing. What is surprising, is that, given the 6,000-year history of human-horse relationships, and the recent blossoming of academic enquiry into the human-horse partnership in the leisure horse context (Dashper 2017; Davis and Maurstad 2016; Nyman and Schuurman 2015; Schuurman and Franklin 2015), there

has been relatively little academic interest in the human-horse relationships within thoroughbred racing. This neglect is especially noteworthy in light of the ongoing debate about horse safety and welfare in thoroughbred racing. It is to this neglect that the present study has been directed, offering important and novel insight into the perspectives and experiences of human participants in Australian jumps racing, extending understanding of this particular human-animal activity.

There is much that remains to be understood and it was not possible for the present study to encompass all areas of interest. For example, there remain important questions about the role of gender in Australian jumps racing and in the human-horse relationships on which it is based. Another area of enquiry might be the role of Ireland in supporting Australian jumps racing through the recruitment of Irish jockeys.

More generally, there is a need to progress further social science research to understand better and improve the understanding of the human values and the cultural importance of animal-based traditions such as jumps racing. This research could focus on how historical practices, like horse racing, are socio-culturally normalized, why they are resistant to change and what practices are likely to be valued or tolerated by which sections of society. An understanding of values and attitudes towards horses and the human-horse relationships at the center of thoroughbred racing is needed, as this is an area that has been lacking in previous scholarship. This may help to better explain what is at stake for societies in such debates over how humans relate to, value and regard animals, and thereby to inform social choices relating to animal lives.

References

Adair, D. (2011). Australian Sport History. In T. Collins, & W. Vamplew, *Sport as History* (pp. 75-106). Abingdon: Routledge.

Adams, J. (2012). *Over the Hurdles. The History of Jumping Racing in Australia.* Melbourne: Melbourne Books.

Adelman, M., & Knijnik, J. (2013). *Gender and Equestrian Sport.* Dordrecht: Springer.

Norwood. (1897, April 24) Adelaide Notes. *Australasian,* page 16. Retrieved June 30, 2015, from National Library of Australia: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article139724260

Allen, C., & Bekoff, M. (1997). *Species of the mind: The Philosophy and Biology of Cognitive Ethology.* Cambridge MA: MIT Press.

Animals Australia. (2008, December). *Submission to State of Victoria, Members of Parliament, Dec 2008.* Retrieved May 30, 2015, from Animals Australia web site: http:www.animalsaustralia.org/documents/Jumps-Racing-Submission-to Victorian-MPs-Dec-2008.pdf

Animals Australia. (2014, May 2). *Animals Australia Jumps Racing Death Files.* Retrieved from Animals Australia Web site: http://animalsaustralia.org/features/jumps-racing-death-files.php

Animals Australia. (2017, May 22). *Horse Racing.* Retrieved May 23, 2017, from Animals Australia: http://www.animalsaustralia.org.au/issues/horse_racing.php

Anonymous (1810, October 20). Sydney Races. *Sydney Gazette*, page 2. Retrieved June 30, 2015, from State Library of NSW: www2.sl.nsw.gov.au/archive/discover-collections/society_art/races/horse/hydepark.html

Anonymous. (1811, August 17). Sporting Intelligence: Sydney Races. *The Sydney Gazette*, page. 2. Retrieved May 23, 2017, from http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article628297

Anonymous (1849, November 30). Frivolous Legislation. *Argus*, page *4*. Retrieved May 23, 2017, from http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article476606

Anonymous (1896, April Saturday 11). Miscellaneous Notes. *Australasian*, page 14. Retrieved June 30, 2015, from http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1397242260

Anonymous. (1922, May Tuesday 16). Steeplechase Accidents: Question of Cruelty *Western Argus*, page 36. Retrieved June 30, 2015, from http://nla.gov.au/nla.news.article34233899

Anonymous (1927, May Wednesday 4). Abolish Steeplechasing. R.S.P.C.A. move. *The Sun*, page 23. Retrieved June 30, 2015, from http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article223620272

Anonymous. (1977, September 24). Death Rate Doubles. *The Canberra Times*, page 39. Retrieved January 30, 2017, from http://nla.gov.au/nla-news-article110867651

Anthony, D. (1986). The Kurgan Culture. Indo-European origins and the domestication of the horse. A reconsideration. *Current Anthropology, 27*, 291-313.

Anthony, D. (1991). The domestication of the horse. In R. Meadow, & H. Ueperman, *Equids in the Ancient World. Vol 2.* (pp. 250-277). Weisbaden: Verlag.

Anthony, D. (1991). V. G. Childs world system and the daggers of the Early Bronze Age. In B. Wailes, *Craft Specialisation and Social Evolution* (pp. 47-66). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum Press.

Anthony, D. W. (2007). *The Horse, the Wheel and Language: How Bronze Age Riders From The Eurasian Steppes Shaped The Modern World.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Univetsity Press.

Anthony, D., & Brown, D. (2003). Eneolithic Horse Rituals and Riding in the Steppes: New Evidence. In M. Levine, C. Renfrew, K. Boyle, M. A. Levine, C. Renfrew, & K. V. Boyle (Eds.), *Prehistoric Steppe Adaptation and the Horse* (pp. 55-68). Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Anthony, D., Brown, D., & George, C. (2006). Early Horseback Riding and Warfare: The Importance of the Magpie Around the Neck. In S. L. Olsen, S. Grant, A. M. Choyke, & L. Bartossiewicz (Eds.), *Horses and Humans; The Evolution of Human-Equine Relationships.* (pp. 137-156). Oxford: Archaeopress.

Armstrong, S., & Botzler, R. (1993). *Environmental Ethics; Divergence and Convergence.* (S. Armstrong, & R. Botzler, Eds.) New York: McGraw Hill.

Auld, T. (2017, May 9). The crowd understands there will be thrills, unpredictability, and spills at the Warrnambool carnival. *The Standard*. Retrieved May 14, 2017, from The Standard: http://www.standard.net.au/story/4647070/crowds-flock-to-races/?cs=74

Australian Broadcasting Corporation. (2015, February 17). *Jumps racing to continue at Morphettville in Adelaide despite SA Jockey Club opposition.* Retrieved from Australian Broadcasting Corporation: http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-02-17/jumps-racing-to-continue-at-morphettville-in-adelaide/6128008

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2011, October 16). *Oakbank(L) (Urban Centre/Location) 2006 CensusQuickStats*. Retrieved June 30, 2016, from Australian Bureau of Statistics:

http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@nsf/DetailsPage/3311.42000?OpenDocument

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2016, March 16). *Regional Population Growth, Australia, 2014-15. Population Estimates by Significant Urban Area, 2005-2015*. Retrieved from Australian Bureau of Statistics: http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@nsf/DetailsPage/3218.02014-15

Australian Harness Racing. (2016, December 10). *Trots To Harness Whip-Free Racing.* Retrieved April 30, 2017, from Australian Harness Racing: http://harness.org.au/news-article.cfm?news_id=31814

Australian Racing Board. (2009, December 30). *Australian Racing Fact Book 2008/09.* Retrieved January 30, 2017, from Australian Racing Board: http://www.australianracingboard.com.au/fact_book.aspx

Australian Racing Board. (2010, December). *Australian Racing Fact Book 2009/10.* Retrieved January 30, 2017, from Australian Racing Board: http://www.australianracingboard.com.au/fact_book.aspx

Australian Racing Board. (2011, December). *Australian Racing Fact Book 2010/11.* Retrieved January 30, 2017, from Australian Racing Board: http://www.australianracingboard.com.au/Fact_book.aspx

Australian Racing Board. (2012, December). *Australian Racing Fact Book 2011/2012.* Retrieved January 30, 2017, from Australian Racing Board: http://www.australianracingboard.com.au/fact_book.aspx

Australian Racing Board. (2013, December). *Australian Racing Fact Book 2012/13.* Retrieved January 30, 2017, from Australian Racing Board: http://www.australianracingboard.com.au/fact_book.aspx

Australian Racing Board. (2014, December). *Australian Racing Fact Book 2013/14.* Retrieved June 29, 2015, from Australian Racing Board web site: http://www.australianracingboard.com.au/fact_book.aspx

Australian Racing Board. (2015, December). *Australian Racing Fact Book 2014/15.* Retrieved January 30, 2017, from Australian Racing Board: http:www.australianracingboard.com.au/fact_book.aspx

Australian Racing Board. (2016, December). *Australian Racing Fact Book 2015/16.* Retrieved January 30, 2017, from Australian Racing Board: http://www.australianracingboard.com.au/fact_book.aspx

Bale, J. (1993). The Spatial Development of the Modern Stadium. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 28*(2-3), 121-133.

Balsdon, J. (2002). *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome.* London: Phoenix Press.

Barua, H. (2014). Bio-geo-graphy: landscape, dwelling and the poltical ecology of human-elephant relations. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space,*

Baxter, J., & Eyles, J. (1997). Evaluating qualitative research in social geography: establishing 'rigour'in interview analysis. *Transactions of the Institute of British geographers, 22*(4), 505-525.915-934.

Bear, C. (2011). Being Angelica? Exploring individual animal geographies. *Area, 43*, 297-304. doi:10.1111/j.1475

Bekoff, M. (2013). Animal consciousness and science matter: Anthropomorphism is not anti-science. Relations-1.1-June 2013. doi:10.7358/rela-2013-001-beko

Bekoff, M., & Allen, C. (1997). Cognitive ethology. Slayers, skeptics and proponents. In R. Mitchell, N. Thompson, M. L, R. Mitchell, N. Thompson, & M. L (Eds.), *Anthropomorphism, Anecdotes and Animals: The Emperors New Clothes?* (pp. 313-334). Albany NY: SUNY Press.

Benecke, N. (1998). Die Wildepferde aus der spatmesolithischen Station Mirnoe in der Sudwest Ukraine. In P. Anreiter, L. Bartosiewicz, E. Jerem, & W. Meid, *Man and the Animal World: Studies in Archaeozoology, Archaeology, Anthropology, and Paleolinguistics in Memoriam Sandor Bokonyi* (pp. 87-107). Budapest: Archaeolingua.

Bennett, D. (1992). Evolution of the Horse: Horse Breeding and Management. *World Animal Science Encyclopedia, 7*, 1-40. NY: Elsevier.

Bennett, D. (2013, November). Secretariat. Like No Other Horse. *Equus*, pp. 32-41.

Bennett, D., & Hoffmann, R. (1999). Equus caballus. *Mamm. Species, 628*, 1-14.

Bibikova, V. I. (1986). On the history of horse domestication in south east Europe. *BAR International Series, 287*, 163-82. (D. Y. Telegin, Ed.)

Birke, L. (2007). Learning to Speak Horse: The Culture of Natural Horsemanship. *Society and Animals, 15*, 217-239. doi:10.1163/156853007X217177

Birke, L., & Hockenhull, J. (2012). *Crossing Boundaries.* Leiden: Brill.

Birke, L., & Hockenhull, J. (2015). Journeys Together: Horses and Humans in Partnership. *Society and Animals, 23*, 81-100. doi:10.1163/15685306-12341361

Birke, L., & Hockenhull, J. (2016). Moving (with)in affect: Horses, people and tolerance. In J. Nyman, & N. Schuurman (Eds.), *Affect, Space and Animals* (pp. 120-139). Abingdon: Routledge.

Birke, L., Hockenhull, J., & Creighton, E. (2010). The Horse's Tale; Narratives of Caring for/about Horses. *Society and Animals, 18*, 331-347.

Birley, D. (1993). *Sport and the making of Britain.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Boden, L., Anderson, J. A., Charles, K. L., Morgan, J. M., Parkin, T. D., Slocombe, R. F., & Clarke, A. F. (2006). Risk of fatality and causes of death of Thoroughbred horses associated with racing in Victoria, Australia:1989-2004. *Equine*

Bourke, T. (2008, June 29). *The day jumps racing fell from grace.* Retrieved from The Age: http://www.theage.com.au/news/horse-racing/the-day-jumps-racing-fell-from-grace/2008/06/28/1214472842244.html

Veterinary Journal, 38(4), 312-318.

Brasch, N. (2014). *Horses in Australia.* Sydney: New South Publishing.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitiative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77-101.

Brown, C. (2016). From working to winning: The shifting symbolic value of Connemara ponies in the west of Ireland. In D. Davis, & A. Maurstad (Eds.), *The Meaning of Horses* (pp. 69-84). Abingdon: Routledge.

Brown, D., & Anthony, D. (1998). Bit wear, Horseback riding and the Botai site in Kazakstan. *Journal of Archaelogical Science, 25,* 331-347.

Brubaker, L., & Udell, M. A. (2016). Cognition and learning in horses(Equus caballus): What we know and why we should ask more. *Behavioural Processes, 126,* 121-131.

Budiansky, S. (1992). *The Covenant of the Wild: Why Animals Chose Domestication.* New Haven, Conneticut: Yale University Press.

Budiansky, S. (1997). *The Nature of Horses.* New York: The Free Press.

Budiansky, S. (2000). *The World According to Horses. How they Run, See and Think.* New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Buller, H. (2014). Animal Geographies 1. *Progress in Human Geography, 38*(2), 308-318. doi:10.1177/0309132513479295

Buller, H. (2015). Animal Geographies 2: methods. *Progress in Human Geography, 39*(3), 374-384.

Butler, J. (2009). quoted in Redmalm (2016) So Sorry for the Loss of Your Little Friend:Grievability in Condolence Cards for Humans Mourning Animals. in. *DeMello Mourning Animals*. East Lansing: Michigan University Press.

Byrd, C. (2017). Anthropomorphism. In J. Urbanik, & C. Johnston (Eds.), *Humans and Animals: A Geography of Coexistence* (pp. 25-27). Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.

Campbell, B. (2007). Progressiveness and Backwardness in Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Century Agriculture: The Verdict of Recent Research. In B. Campbell, *The Medieval Antecedents of English Agricultural Progress* (pp. 541-559). Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate.

Campbell, J. T. (1811, August 10). *Government and General Orders.* Retrieved May 23, 2017, from National Library of Australia: http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article628292

Campbell, M. (2013). Ethical Analysis of the Use of Animals for Sport. In C. Wathes, S. Corr, S. May, S. McCulloch, & M. Whiting (Ed.), *Veterinary and Animal Ethics: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Veterinary and Animal Ethics* (pp. 201-215). Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Caras, R. A. (1996). *A Perfect Harmony; The Intertwining Lives of Animals and Humans Throughout History.* NY: Simon and Schuster.

Carter, J. (2013). *The History of Horse Racing.* Wigston, UK: Anness Publishing.

Cassidy, R. (2002a). The Social Practice of Racehorse Breeding. *Society and Animals, 10*, 155-171.

Cassidy, R. (2002b). *The Sport of Kings: kinship, class, and thoroughbred breeding in Lexington and in Newmarket.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cassidy, R. (2003). Turf wars: Arab dimensions to British racehorse breeding. *Anthropology Today*, *19*(3), 8-13.

Cassidy, R. (2005). Falling in Love with Horses: the International Thoroughbred Auction. *Society and Animals, 13*, 51-68.

Cassidy, R. (2007 a). *Horse people: thoroughbred culture in Lexington and Newmarket.* Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

Cassidy, R. (2007 b). Introduction: Domestication Reconsidered. In R. Cassidy, & M. Mullin, *Where the wild things are now* (Vol. 6, pp. 1-26). London: Berg.

Cassidy, R. (2009). The Horse, the Kyrgz horse and the 'Kyrgz horse'. *Anthropology Today*, *25*(1), 12-15.

Cassidy, R. (2013). *The Cambridge Companion to Horseracing.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chamaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative research.* Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Chamberlin, J. E. (2006). *How the Horse has Shaped Civilizations.* Bluebridge: New York.

Chase, S. (2010). *Learning to speak; learning to listen. How diversity works on campus.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Christian, D. (2000). Silk roads or steppe roads? The silk roads in world history. *Journal of world history, 11* (1), 1-26.

Clark, C. H. (1962). *A History of Australia. Volume 1. From the Earliest Times to the Age of Macquarie.* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Clutton-Brock, J. (1994). The unnatural world: behavioural aspects of humans and animals in the process of domestication. *Animals and human society: Changing perspectives*, 23-35.

Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses. (2016, December 12). *5 Reasons Racing Victoria must now ban the whip*. Retrieved January 30, 2017, from Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses: https://www.horseracingkills.com/2016/12/12/5-reasons-racing-victoria-must-now-ban-the-whip

Colley, L. (2005). *Britons: Forging the nation, 1707-1837.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Cook, I. (2005). Participant Observation. In R. Flowerdew, & D. Martin, *Methods in human geography: a guide for students doing a research project* (pp. 167-80). New York: Pearson/Prentice Hall.

Cooper, A. (2016, July 11). *Top greyhound trainers to plead guilty on animal cruelty charges.* Retrieved April 30, 2017, from the Age: http://theage.com.au/victoria/top-greyhound-trainers-to-plead-guilty-to animal-cruelty-charges-20160711-gq3az4.html

Country Arts. (2014). Rider and Writer-a docudrama. Retrieved May 30, 2016, from www.countryarts.org.au/show/rider-and writer-a film-docudrama

Crang, M. (2005). Analysing qualitative materials. In R. Flowerdew, & D. Martin, *Methods in human geography: a guide for students doing research* (pp. 218-232). New York: Pearson/Prentice Hall.

Creswell, J. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* (3 ed.). Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage Publications Inc.

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design.* Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Crist, E. (1999). *Images of Animals: Anthropomorphism and the Animal Mind.* Philadelphia (PA): Temple University Press.

Dalke, K., & Wels, H. (2016). Ethnographic research in a changing cultural landscape. In J. Nyman, & N. Schuurman (Eds.), *Affect, Space and Animals* (pp. 181-195). New York: Routledge.

Dashper, K. (2017). *Human-Animal Relationships in Equestrian Sport and Leisure.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Davies, P. (2006). *Steeplechasing in Great Britain.* Retrieved June 30, 2015, from Thoroughbred Heritage: http://www.tbheritage.com/TurfHallmarks/racecharts/Steeplechase/SteepleGB.html

Davis, D., & Maurstad, A. (2016). *The Meaning of Horses: Biosocial Encounters.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Davis, D., Maurstad, A., & Dean, S. (2014). Id rather wear out than rust out: autobiologies of ageing equestrians. *Ageing and Society, 36(02),* 333-355. doi:10.1017/S0144686X14001172

Davison, A. (2008). The trouble with nature: Ambivalence in the lives of urban Australian environmentalists. *Geoforum*, *39*(3), 1284-1295.

DeMello, M. (2016). *Mourning Animals. Rituals and Practices Surrounding Animal Death.* Michigan State University Press.

DeMello, M. (2012). *An Introduction to Human-Animal Studies.* NY: Columbia University Press.

Denniss, R. J., & Davison, A. (2015). Self and world in lay interpretations of climate change. *International Journal of Climate Change Strategies and Management, 7*(2), 1-20. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org//10.1108/IJCCSM-03-2014-0046

Diamond, J. (1997). *Guns, germs and steel: the fate of human societies.* London: Random House.

Drews, R. (2004). *Early Riders.* London: Routledge.

Eddy, A., Spits, S., & Cooper, M. (2009, May 7). *Another death may signal the end of jumps racing.* Retrieved from The Age: http://www.theage.com.au/news/sport/horse-racing/another-death-may-signal-the-end-of-jumps-racing/2009/05/06/1241289238571.html

Edwards, P., & Graham, E. (2012). Introduction: The Horse as Cultural Icon: The Real and the Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World. In R. Edwards, K. Enekel, & E. Graham (Eds.), *The Horse as Cultural Icon* (pp. 1-36). Leiden: Brill.

Eisenmann, V. (1983). Family Equidae. In J. M. Harris, *The Fossil Ungulates:Proboscidea, Perissodactyla, and Suidae* (Vol. 2, pp. 156-214). Clarendon Press.

Elder, G., Wolch, J., & Emel, J. (1998). Race, Place and the Bounds of Humanity. *Society and Animals*, 183-202.

Emel, J., & Urbanik, J. (2010). Animal geographies: Exploring the spaces and places of human animal encounters. In *Teaching the Animal: Human-Animal Studies across the Disciplines* (pp. 200-217). NY: Lantern Books.

Fairfax, K. (2017, April 22). *Jumps racing should be banned.* Retrieved April 30, 2017, from Greenleft: https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/jumps-racing-should-be-banned

Francione, D. L., & Garner, R. (2010). *The animal rights debate: Abolition or regulation?* NY: Colombia University Press.

Franks, T. (2015, March 15). *Animal Welfare(Jumps Racing) Amendment Bill.* Retrieved August 6, 2015, from tammyfranks.org.au: http://www.tammyfranks.org.au/?s=jumps+racing

Freedman, H., & Lemon, A. (1987). *The History of Australian Thoroughbred Racing Volume 1.* Melbourne: Classic Reproductions.

Freedman, H., & Lemon, A. (1990). *The History of Australian Thoroughbred Racing Volume 2.* Melbourne: Southbank Communications Group.

Freeman, C., Bekoff, M., & Bexell, S. (2011). Giving Voice to the Voiceless. *Journalism Studies, 12*(5), 590-607. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2010.540136

Froehlich, D. (2002). Quo vadis eohippus? The systematics and the taxonomy of the early Eocene equids (Perissodactyla). *Journal of the Linnean Society, 134*, 141-256.

Gardiner, J. A., Capo, R. C., Olsen, S. L., & Rosenmeier, M. (2008). Soil Trace Element Evidence For Horse Coralling during the Copper Age in Northern Kazakhstan. *Geological Society of America;Abstracts within programs, 40*(6), 354.

Gerber, B., & Young, K. (2013). Horse play in the Canadian West: The Emergence of the Calgary Stampede as Contested Terrain. *Society and Animals, 21*(6), 523-545.

Gies, J., & Gies, F. (1972). *Merchants and Moneymen: The Commercial Revolution 1000-1500.* New York: Crowell.

Gillespie, K., & Collard, R. (2015). *Critical Animal Geographies: Politics, intersections, and hierarchies in a multispecies world.* (K. Gillespie, & R. Collard, Eds.) Abingdon: Routledge.

Ginn, F. (2013). Sticky lives; slugs, detachment and more-than-human ethics in the garden. *Transactions of the British Institute of Geographers, 39*(4), 532-544.

Given, L. (. (2008). *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods Volume 2.* Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage Publications.

Godfrey, M. (2016, July 7). NSW greyhound racing industry to be shut down from 2017. *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved April 30, 2017, from the Daily Telegraph: http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/nsw-greyhound-racing-industry-to-be-shut-down-from-2017/news-story/3d45e451862a9873d3ae506afdc8458

Goodwin, D. (1999). The importance of ethology in understanding the behaviour of the horse. The role of the horse in Europe. *Equine Vet J Supplement, 28*, 15-19.

Grandin, T., & Johnson, G. (2005). *Animals in Translation. Using the mysteries of autism to decode animal behaviour.* NY: Scribner Book Company.

Hamilton, J., & Placas, A. (2011). Anthropology becoming...? The 2010 sociocultural anthropology year in revew. *American Anthropologist, 113*(2), 246-261.

Hansen, C. (2013). Horsetalk; Horses and Human(e) Discourse. In M. DeMello (Ed.), *Speaking for Animals. Animal Autobiographies* (Vol. 80, pp. 2017-230). New York: Routledge.

Haraway, D. (1991). *Simians, cyborgs and women: The reinvention of women.* London and NY: Routledge.

Haraway, D. (2008). *When species meet.* Minneapolis, MN: Univesity of Minnsota Press.

Hausler, A. (2000). Review of Anreiter 1998. *Indogermanische Forschungen, 105*, 310-313.

Hill, K. (2014, May 22). South Easts hero horseman recognised. Retrieved December 16, 2016, from www.abc.net.au/local/phtos/2014/09/22/4092136.htm?site=southeastsa

Hinds, M. (2013). Irish Racings Peaceable Kingdoms. In R. Cassidy, *Cambridge Companion to Horseracing* (pp. 107-119). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hird, M. (2010). Meeting with the Microcosmos. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 28*, 36-39.

Hofreiter, M., & Stewart, J. (2009). Ecological change, range fluctuations and population dynamics during the Pleistocene. *Current Biology, 19*(14), R584-594.

Holland, A. (2001). *Steeplechasing: A Celebration of 250 Years.* Boston: Litle Brown Book Group.

horseracingkills.com.au. (2010, May 6). *Ban Jumps Racing.* Retrieved June 29, 2015, from gopetition.com: http://www.gopetition.com/petitions/ban-jumps-racing.html

Hovorka, A. (2008). Transspecies urban theory: Chickens in an African city. *Cultural Geographies, 15*, 119-141.

Huggins, M. (2000). *Flat Racing and British society.* London: Portland Frank Cass.

Hulbert, R. C. (1996). The Ancestry of the Horse. In S. L. Olsen (Ed.), *Horses through Time* (pp. 11-34). Langham MD: Roberts Rinehart.

Hurn, S. (2008a). The Cardinauts of the Western Coast of Wales. *Journal of Material Culture, 13*(3), 335-355.

Hurn, S. (2008b). Whats Love Got to Do with It? The Interplay of Sex and Gender in the Commercial Breeding of Welsh Cobs. *Society and Animals, 16*, 23-44.

Ingold, T. (1994). From trust to domination: An alternative history of human-animal relations. *Animals and human society: Changing perspectives*, *1*, 22.

Ingold, T. (2013). Prospect. In T. Ingold, & G. Palsson (Eds.), *Biosocial becomings* (pp. 1-21). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jennings, G. (2005). Interviewing: a Focus on Qualitative Techniques. In B. Ritchie, P. Burns, & C. Palmer (Eds.), *Tourism Research Methods: Integrating Theory with Practice* (pp. 99-118). Cambridge MA: CABI Publishing.

Jones, D. (2008). *Jumps Racing in Victoria.* Melbourne: Racing Victoria Limited.

Jones, P., & Gruen, L. (2016). Keeping Ghosts Close: Care and Grief at Sanctuaries. In M. DeMello, *Mourning Animals* (pp. 187-192). East Lansing: Michigan University Press.

Jumps Racing. (2016, July 12). *Jumps Racing*. Retrieved from facebook.com: https://www.facebook.com/Jumps.Racingau/posts/122933260412614

Kalis, A. J., Merkt, J., & Wunderlich, J. (2003). Environmental changes during the Holocene climatic optimum in central Europe-human impact and natural causes. *Quaternary Science Reviews, 22*(1), 33-79. doi:10.1016/S0277-3791(02)00181-6

Kearns, R. (2005). Being there: Research Through Observing and Participating. In I. Hay, *Qualitative Methods in Human Geography* (pp. 103-121). South Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Keaveney, S. (2008). Equines and their human companions. *Journal of Business Research, 61*, 444-454.

Kelenka, P. (2009). *The Horse In Human History.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Koch, P. L., & Barnosky, A. D. (2006). Late Quaternary extinctions: state of the debate. *Annual Review of Ecology, Evolution, and Systematics, 37*.

Kohanov, L. (2001). *The tao of equus.* Novato, Ca: New World Library.

Kramer, L. (1972). Gordon, Adam Lindsay (1830-1870), Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University. Canberra, ACT, Australia. Retrieved May 12, 2017, from http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/gordon-adam-lindsay-3635/text5653

Kuzmina, E., & Mair, V. (2008). *The Prehistory of the Silk Road.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Kyle, D. (2014). *Sport and spectacle in the ancient world.* NY: John Wiley and Sons.

Landry, D. (2008). *Noble Brutes. How Eastern Horses Transformed English Culture.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Lane, S. (2016, October 29). False dawn? Michelle Payne is an Australian icon but have female jockeys really progressed? *The Sydney Morning Herald.* Retrieved from The Sydney Morning Herald: http://www.smh.com.au/action/printArticle?id=1015089599

Lang, J. (1834). *An historical and statistical account of New South Wales both as a penal settlement and as a British colony.* London: Cochrane and McCrone.

Langdon, J. (1986). *Horse, Oxen and Technological Innovation:The Use of Draught Animals in English Farming from 1066-1500.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Latimer, J., & Birke, L. (2009). Natural relations; horses, knowledge, technology. *The Sociological Review, 57*(1), 1-27.

Lawrence, E. A. (1988). Horses in society. *Anthrozoos, 1*(4), 223-231.

Lemon, A. (2013). The steeplechasing mind: Butch Londregan and the Smithwick Kid. *Meanjin, 72*(2), p. 96.

Levine, M. (1990). Dereivka and the Problem of Horse Domestication. *Antiquity, 64*, 727-740.

Lewis, E. G. (1937). A new Siwak correlation. *American Journal of Science, 33*, pp. 191-204. doi:102475/ajs.s5-33.195.191

Littauer, M. (2002). The Military Use of the Chariot in the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age. In P. Raulwing, *Selected Writings on Chariots, Other Early Vehicles, Riding and Harness* (pp. 75-99). Leiden: Brill.

Lorimer, J. (2011). Nature-part II: The rise of multinaturalism. In J. Agnew, & J. Duncan (Eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Human Geography* (pp. 197-208). Oxford: Blackwell.

Ludwig, A., Pruvost, M., Reissman, M., Benecke, N., Brockmann, G. A., Castanos, P., . . . Hofreiter, M. (2009). Coat Colour Variation at the Beginning of Horse Domestication. *Science, 324*, 485.

Mackay-Smith, A. (2000). *Speed and the Thoroughbred; The Complete History.* Lanham: The Derrydale Press and Millwood House Ltd.

N. D. McLachlan, 'Macquarie, Lachlan (1762–1824)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/macquarie-lachlan-2419/text3211, published first in hardcopy 1967, accessed online 7 August 2017

Maj, E. (2009). The Horse of the Sakha: Ethnic Symbol in Post Communist Sakha Republic (Iakutiia). *Sibirica, 8*(1), 68-74.

Mantle, N. (2004). *Horse and Rider in Australian Legend.* Melbourne: Miegunyah press.

Marvin, G., & McHugh, S. (2014). *Routledge Handbook of Human-Animal Studies.* Routledge.

Matthews, D. (2017, May 3). Warrnambool Grand Annual Steeplechase: Horse welfare now 'front of mind' in Australian jumps racing. *ESPN*. Retrieved May 14, 2017, from ESPN: http://www.espn.com.au/horse-racing/story/_/id/19300393/warrnambool-grand-annual-steeplechase-horse-welfare-now-front-mind-australian-jumps-racing

McCarty, J. W., & Schedvin, C. B. (1974). *Urbanisation in Australia: the Nineteenth Century.* Sydney: Sydney University Press.

McFadden, B. J. (2005). Fossil Horses-evidence for evolution. *Science, 307.5716*, 1728-1730.

McGuirk, P., & O'Neill, P. (2005). Using questionnaires in qualitative human geography. In I. Hay, *Qualitative research methods in human geography* (pp. 147-167). South Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

McKee, T. (2016). In the Heart of Every Horse: Combating a History of Equine Exploitation and Slaughter through the Commemoration of an "Average" Thoroughbred Racehorse. In M. DeMello, *Mourning Animals* (pp. 137-142). East Lansing Michigan: Michigan University Press.

McManus, P. (2016). Brimful of Courage: How the Life and Death of Redditch Changed Jumps Racing in Australia (And What More Needs to be Done). *The International Journal of Sport History, 33*, 847-859.

McManus, P., & Montoya, D. (2012). Towards new understandings of human-animal relationships in sport: a study of Australian jumps racing. *Social and Cultural Geography, 13*(4), 399-420.

McManus, P., Albrecht, G., & Graham, R. (2013). *The Global Horseracing Industry.* Abingdon: Routledge.

McManus, P., Graham, R., & Ruse, K. (2014). The construction of human–animal relations: National Jumps Day 2013 at Te Rapa, Hamilton, New Zealand. *New Zealand Geographer, 70*(3), 190-200.

McShane, C., & Tarr, J. (2008). *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the Nineteenth Century.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University.

Montoya, D., McManus, P., & Albrecht, G. (2012). Jumping to Conclusions? Media Coverage of Jumps Racing Debates in Australia. *Society and Animals, 20*, 273-293.

Moore, L., & Cook, C. (2016, July 11). *Oakbank chairman John Glatz fined for spray at Racing Minster Leon Bignell.* Retrieved from Adelaidenow web site: http://www.adelaidenow.com.au/sport/superracing/sa-racing/oakbank-chair-john-glatz-fined-for-spray-at-racing-minister-leon-bignell/news-story/e9c2c99c4b2b6c1cb4c66584a8dc79e6

Mulholland, E. (2016). A Licence to Nanny. *Review Institute of Public Affairs, 68(3)*, 4-41.

Munting, R. (1987). *Hedges and Hurdles. A Social and Economic History of National Hunt Racing.* London: J. A. Allen.

Myers, D. (2006). *The History of Horseracing.* Stroud: Sutton Publishing.

Nash, R. (2005). Honest English Breed: The Thoroughbred as Cultural Metaphor. In K. Raber, & T. Tucker (Eds.), *The Culture of the Horse* (pp. 245-272). New York: Palgrave MacMillen.

Nash, R. (2012). Beware a bastard breed: Notes Towards a Revisionist History of the Thoroughbred Racehorse. In P. Edwards, K. Enekel, & E. Graham (Eds.), *The Horse as Cultural Icon* (pp. 191-216). Leiden: Brill.

Nash, R. (2013). Sporting with Kings. In R. Cassidy (Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Horseracing* (pp. 13-25). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Nast, H. (2006). Critical pet studies? *Antipode, 38*, 894-906.

Needham, J. (1965). *Science and Civilisation in China. Vol 4, Physics and Physical Technology. Part 2, Mechanical Engineering.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Neo, H. (2012). They hate pigs, Chinese farmers, everything. Beastly racialisation in multi-ethnic Malaysia. *Antipode, 44(3)*, 950-970.

Nicholls, S. (2016, July 15). There's a reason Mike Baird has banned greyhounds and not casinos. *Sydney Morning Herald.* Retrieved April 30, 2017, from Sydney Morning Herald: http://www.smh.com.au/comment/theres-a reason-why-mike-baird-has-banned-greyhounds-and-not-casinos

Noble, D. (2015). *Dawn of the horse warriors. Chariot and cavalry warfare 3000-600 BC.* Barnsley UK: Pen and Sword.

Nosworthy, C. (2013). *A Geography of Horse Riding. The Spacing of Affect, Emotion and (Dis)ability Identity through Horse Human Encounters.* Newcastle on Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Nyman, J., & Schuurman, N. (2015). *Affect, Space and Animals.* (J. Nyman, & N. Schuurman, Eds.) Abingdon: Routledge.

Olsen, S. (1989). Solutre: A Theoretical Approach to the Reconstruction of Upper Paleoloithic Hunting Strategies. *Journal of Human Evolution, 18*, 25-327.

Olsen, S. (1996a). Horse Hunters of the Ice Age. In S. Olsen, *Horses Through Time* (pp. 35-36). Boulder, Co: Roberts Reinhart Publishers.

Olsen, S. L. (1996b). In the Winners Circle: The History Of Equestrian Sports. In S. L. Olsen (Ed.), *Horses Through Time* (pp. 103-128). Boulder, Co: Roberts Reinhart Publishers.

Olsen, S. L. (2003). *Horses Through Time.* (S. L. Olsen, Ed.) Lanham MD: Roberts Reinhart.

Olsen, S., Grant, S., Choyke, A. M., & Bartosiewicz, L. (2006). *Horses and Humans: The Evolution of Human-Equine Relationships.* Oxford: Archae Press.

Orlando, L. (2015). Equids. *Curr Biol, 25*, R973-8.

Osmer, W. (1743). *A Dissertation on Horses (reprint).* Oxford: Palala Press 2015.

Outram, A. K., Stear, N. A., Bendrey, R., Olsen, S., Kasparaov, A., Zaibert, V., . . . Evershed, R. P. (2009). The Earliest Horse Harnessing and Milking. *Science, 323*, 1332-1333.

Paterson, A. B. (1917). Concering a Steeplechase Rider. p. 53. Retrieved May 23, 2017, from http://www.telelib.com/authors/P/PatersonAB_Banjo/prose/TEP/steeplechase.html

Patton, P. (2003). Language Power and the Training of Horses. In C. Wolfe (Ed.), *Zoontologies: The Question of the Animal* (pp. 83-99). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Peake, W. (2013). Sydney or the Bush: Adaptation, Centrality and Periphery in Australian Horseracing. In R. Cassidy (Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Horseracing* (pp. 120-134). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Philo, C., & Wolch, J. (1998). Guest Editors Introduction: Through the geographical looking glass: space, place and human-animal relations. *Society and Animals, 6*, 103-118.

Philo, C; Wilbert, C (Eds). (2000). *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations.* London: Routledge.

Pigeaud, R. (2007). Determining style in Paleolithic cave art: A new method derived from horse images. *Antiquity, 81*, 409-22.

Piggot, S. (1992). *Wagon, chariot and carriage. Symbol and status in the history of transport.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Piggott, S. (1983). *The earliest wheeled transport for the Atlantic coast to the Caspian Sea.* NY: Thames and Hudson.

Polkinghorne, D. (2007). Validity issues in narrative research. *Qualitative Inquiry, 13*, 471-486.

Pollard, J. (1971). *The Pictorial History of Australian Horse Racing.* Dee Why: Paul Hamblyn Limited.

Power, E. (2008). Furry families; making a human-dog family through home. *Social and Cultural Geography, 9*, 535-55.

Power, E. (2009). Border Processes and Homemaking: encounters with possums in suburban Australian homes. *Cultural Geographies, 15*(119-141), 29-54.

Power, E. (2012). Domestication and the dog; embodying home. *Area, 44*(3), 371-378.

Grundy, T. H (1945, March Wednesday 28). Price of Cruelty. *News Adelaide, p. 9.* Retrieved June 30, 2015, from http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article 131229175

Prothero, D. L. (1999). Does Climate Change Drive Mammalian Evolution. *GSA Today, 9*(9), 1-9.

Pruvost, M., Bellone, R., Benecke, N., Sandoval-Castellanos, E., Cieslak, M., Kuznetsova, T., . . . Ludwig, A. (2011). Genotypes of predomestic horses match phenotypes painted in paleolithic works of cave art. *PNAS, 108*(46), 18626-30. Retrieved from www.pnas.org/cgi/doi/pnas.1108982108

Raber, K., & Tucker, T. (2005). *The Culture of the Horse.* (K. Raber, & T. Tucker, Eds.) New York: Palgrave Macmillen.

Racing Australia. (2017, May 23). *Australian Stud Book.* Retrieved May 23, 2017, from Racing Australia: http://www.studbook.org.au

Racing Victoria. (2016, December 15). *2017 Jumps Racing Program with Trials.* Retrieved January 30, 2017, from racing.com: https://rv.racing.com/racing-and-integrity/jumps-racing/jumps-racing-program

Redmalm, D. (2016). So Sorry for the Loss of Your Little Friend: Pet's Grieveability in Condolence Cards for Human Mourning Animals. In M. DeMello (Ed.), *Mourning Animals* (pp. 101-108). East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press.

Regan, T. (1983). *The case for animal rights: Updated with a new preface.* Berkley: University of California.

Regan, T. (1985). *The Case for Animal Rights.* Berkley: University of California Press.

Regan, T. (2004). *The Case for Animal Rights; Updated with a new preface* 2nd. Berkley: University of California Press.

Reissman, C. K. (2008). *Narrative methods for the human sciences.* Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage.

Ritvo, H. (2007). On the animal turn. *Daedalus, 136*(4), 118-122.

Robinson, B. (2002). *The Persian Book of Kings: An Epitome of the Shahnama of Firdawasi.* London: Routledge-Curzon.

Rose, D. (1990). Quixotes Library and Pragmatic Discourse. *Anthropological Quarterly, 64*(4), 155-168.

Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Victoria. (2015, August 6). *jumps racing*. Retrieved August 6, 2015, from RSPCA Victoria web site: http://www.rspcavic.org/issue-action/jumps-racing

RSPCA Victoria. (2015, June 29). *RSPCA Victoria Issues Take Action.* Retrieved June 29, 2015, from RSPCA Victoria web site: http://www.rspcavic.org/issues-take-action/jumps-racing/

Rural Industries Research and Development Corporation. (2015). *Economic Evaluation of Investment in the Horse RD&E Program.* Retrieved June 30, 2016, from RIRDC: https://www.rirdcinfoservices.com.au/items/15-050

Ruse, K., Davison, A., & Bridle, K. (2015). Jump Horse Safety: Reconciling Public Debate and Australian Thoroughbred Jumps Racing Data, 2012-2014. *Animals, 5*(4), 1072-1091. doi:10.3390/ani5040399

Russell, N. (2007). The Domestication of Anthropology. In R. Cassidy, & M. Mullin (Eds.), *Where the wild things are now* (pp. 27-48). Oxford: Berg.

Sanders, C. (1990). The Animal 'Other': Self-Definition, Social Identity and Companion Animals. *Advances in Consumer Research, 17*, 662-668.

Sanders, C. (1999). *Understanding Dogs: Living and Working with Canine Companions.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Sarianidi, V. I. (1995). New discoveries at ancient Gonur. *Ancient civilisations from Scythia to Siberia, 2*(3), 289-310.

Schuurman, N. (2014). Blogging situated emotions in human-horse relationships. *Emotion, Space and Society, 13*, 1-8.

Schuurman, N., & Franklin, A. (2015). Performing expertise in human-animal relationships: performative instability and the role of counterperformance. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 33*, 20-34.

Scott, S. (2009). The Racehorse as Protagonist: Agency, Independence, and Improvisation. In S. McFarland, & R. Hediger (Eds.), *Animals and Agency* (pp. 45-66). Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill NV.

Select Committee on Jumps Racing. (2016, November 16). *Final Report of the Select Committee on Jumps Racing.* Retrieved November 16, 2016, from Parliament of South Australia: http://www.parliament.sa.gov.au/Committee/Pages/Committees.aspx?CTId=3&Cld=328

Sellen W. R. D. (1950, September Tuesday 26). Jumping Races should go. *News*, page 15. Retrieved June 30, 2015, from http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article131229175

Senate Select Committee on Animal Welfare. (1991, August). *Aspects of Animal Welfare in the Racing Industry.* Retrieved June 30, 2015, from The Parliament

of the Commonwealth of Australia: http://www.aph.gov.au/binaries/senate/committee/history/animalwelfare_ctte/welfare_racing_industry/report.pdf

Seth-Smith, M., Willet, P., Mortimer, R., & Lawrence, J. (1966). *The History of Steeplechasing.* London: Michael Joseph.

Sexton, M. (2012, April 9). *Death re-ignites call for jumps racing ban.* Retrieved April 13, 2017, from Australian Broadcasting Corporation: http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2012/s3473559.htm

Singer, P. (1975). *Animal liberation: A new ethic for our treatment of animals.* New York: New York Review(distributed by Random House).

Skelton, T. (2001). Cross-cultural research: issues of power, positionality and race. In M. Limb, & C. Dwyer, *Qualitative methodologies for geographers: issues and debates* (pp. 87-100). London: Arnold.

Smith, A., Proops, L., Grounds, K., Wathan, J., & McComb, K. (2016). Functionally relevant responses to human facial expressions of emotion in the domestic horse(Equus caballus). *Biology letters, 12*. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1098/rsbl.2015.0907

Sommer, R. S., Benecke, N., Lougas, L., Nelle, O., & Schmolcke, U. (2010). Holocene survival of the wild horse in Europe: a matter of open landscape? *Journal of Quaternary Science, 26*, 805-812. doi:10.1002/jqs.1509

South Australian Jumps Racing. (2017, February 10). *2017 South Australian Jumps Racing Calendar*. Retrieved April 30, 2017, from South Australian Jumps Racing: https://southaustralianjumpsracing.com/2017/02/10/2017-south-australian-jumps-racing-calendar

South Australian Parliament. (1879, October 25). *An Act to remedy some of the evils arising from Betting at Races.* Retrieved May 22, 2017, from Flinders University: https://dspace.flinders.edu/xmlui/handle/2673

South Australian Parliament. (1882, November 17). *An Act to Amend Act no 161 of 1879.* Retrieved May 22, 2017, from Flinders University: https://dsapce.flinders.edu/xmlui/handle/2328/6415

State Library of NSW. (2015, June 30). *Horses in the Colony*. Retrieved June 30, 2016, from State Library of NSW: http://www2.sl.nsw.gov.au/archive/discover_collections/society_art/races/horse

Stewart, M. (2017, May 3). *Racing Minister Martin Paluka rejects call to cancel Grand Annual Steeplechase.* Retrieved from heraldsun web site: http://www.heraldsun.com.au/sport/superracing/racing-minister-martin-paluka-rejects-call-to-cancel-warrnambool-grand-annual-steeplechase/news-story/eb93d705642a181c0a7a7aecf9f44fa6

Stoddart, B. (1988). The Hidden Influence of Sport. In V. Burgmann, & J. Lee (Eds.), *Constructing a Culture: A Peoples History of Australia since 1788.* Fitzroy, Victoria, Australia: McPhee Gribble.

Stoddart, B. (1998). At the end of the days play: reflections on cricket, culture and meaning. In B. Stoddart, & K. A. Sandiford (Eds.), *The imperial game: cricket, culture and society* (pp. 150-166). Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Strathern, M. (1991). *Partial Connections.* Walnut Creek, Ca: Altamira Press.

Tasmanian Thoroughbred Racing Council. (2007). *Tasmanian jumps racing review.* Hobart: Tasmanian Thoroughbred Racing Council.

Teddlie, C., & Tashakkori, A. (2011). Mixed Methods Research. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 285-299). Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Teittenen, J. (2015). Passing the cattle car: Anthropomorphism, animal suffering, and James Agee's 'A Mothers Tale'. In J. Nyman, & N. Schuurman (Eds.), *Affect, Space and Animals* (pp. 151-162). Routledge: London and New York.

The Canberra Times. (1977, September 1). VATC calls for end to jumping races. *The Canberra Times*, page 31. Retrieved January 16, 2017, from http://nla.gov.au/nla-news-article11086282

The Coalition for the Protection of Racehorses. (2015, August 6). *Jumps racing*. Retrieved August 6, 2015, from horseracingkills.com web site: http://www.horseracingkills.com/the-issues/jumps-racing

The Jockey Club. (2016). *The Jockey Club Annual Review and Outlook 2015.* Retrieved January 30, 2017, from The Jockey Club: http://www.thejockeyclub.co.uk/the-jockey-club

Thomas, R. (2016, July 11). *Racing Australia hits back at unsubstantiated animal welfare claims.* Retrieved December 1, 2016, from adelaidenow: http://www.adelaidenow.com.au/sport/superracing/racing-australia-hits-back-at-unsubstantiatated-animal-welfare-issues-from-cpr/news-story/62e173ea32c2b1ad127cda1d6a75ced

Thompson, K. (2011). Theorising Rider-Horse Relations. An Ethnographic Illustration of the Centaur Metaphor in the Spanish Bullfight. In N. Taylor, & T. Signal, *Theorising Animals: Rethinking Human Animal Relations* (pp. 221-254). Boston: Brill.

Tin, J. (2017, April 6). Legislation overturns greyhound racing ban. *The Daily Telegraph.* Retrieved April 30, 2017, from: http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/legislation-to-kill-off-the-greyhound-ban-almost-through/news-story/4c5fc49f187b129d019da51354844a6e

Tuan, Yi-Fu. (1974). *Topophilia: A Study in Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values.* London: Prentice Hall.

Urbanik, J. (2012). *Placing Animals; An Introduction to the Geography of Human-Animal Interactions.* Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield.

Urbanik, J & C. Johnston (Eds.), Humans and Animals: A Geography of Coexistence Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.

Vale, M. (1981). *War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages.* London: Duckworth.

Vamplew, W. (1983). From sport to business: the first seventy five years of horse racing in South Australia. *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia, 11*, 15-33.

Vamplew, W. (1987). *Australians: historical statistics Volume 10.* . Broadway, NSW: Fairfax, Syme and Weldon.

Vamplew, W. (2008). Horses, History and Heritage; A comment on the state of going. *Australian Sports Society History Studies*, 23, vii-x.

Vamplew, W., & Kay, J. (2005 b). *Encyclopedia of British Horseracing.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Vamplew, W., & Kay, J. (2005a). Captains Courageous. *Sport in History, 26*(3), 370-385.

Vamplew, W., & Stoddart, B. (1994). *Sport in Australia.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

van Asperen, E. N. (2010). Ecomorphological adaptations to climate and substrate in late Middle Pleiostocene caballoid horses. *Palaeogeography, Paleoclimatology, Paleoecology, 297*(3-4), 584-596.

Warkentin, T., & Watson, G. (2014). Guest Editors Introduction. *Society and Animals, 22*(1), 1-7.

Warmuth, V., Barker, G., Bower, M., Hanks, B. K., Shuicheng, L., Lomitasshvilli, D., . . . Soyonov, V. (2012). Reply to Forster et al: Quantifying demic movement and local recruitment in the spread of horse domestication. *Proceeedings of the National Academy of Science, 109*(46), E3149.

Warmuth, V., Eriksson, A., Bower, M. A., Canon, J., Cothram, G., Distl, O., . . . Zabek, T. M. (2011). European Domestic Horses Originated in Two Holocene Refugia. *PLoS ONE, 6*(3), e18194. doi:10.1371/journal.pone0018194

Weil, K. (2012). *Thinking Animals: Why Animal Studies Now.* NY: Columbia University Press.

Weinstock, J., Willerslev, E. S., Tong, W., Ho, Y., Rubenstein, D., Storer, J., . . . Cooper, A. (2005). Evolution, Systematics, and Phylogeography of Pleiostcene Horses in the New World: A Molecular perspective. *PLoS Biol e241, 8*(3), 1373-1379. Retrieved from www.plosbiology.org

White, L. (1962). *Medieval Technology and Social Change.* London: Oxford University Press.

Williams, K. (2016, April 30). *Newmarket celebrates 350 years of horseracing.* Retrieved November 30, 2016, from http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-suffolk-36169755

Willis, K. (2006). Analysing qualitative data. In M. Walter, *Social research methods: an Australian perspective* (pp. 257-280). South Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Wilson, R. (2017, April 17). Oakbank Racing Carnival: Protestors push for jumps race ban at Easter Monday event. *Adelaidenow.* Retrieved April 30, 2017, from: http://www.adelaidenow.com.au/sport/superracing/sa-racing/oakbank-racing-

carnival-protesters-push-for-jumps-race-ban-at-easter-monday-event/news-story/ad2db069b13dfb39b8cf61277d6a7762

Winchester, H. (2005). Qualitative Research and its Place in Human Geography. In I. Hay (Ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography* (pp. 1-21). South Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Wipper, A. (2000). The Partnership: The Horse-Rider Relationship in Eventing. *Symbolic Interaction, 23*(1), 47-70.

Wolch, J. (2002). Anima urbis. *Progress in Human Geography, 26*(6), 721-742.

Wolch, J., & Emel, J. (1998). *Animal Geographies: Place, Politics, and Identity in Nature-Culture Borderlands.* London: Verso.

Wolfe, C. (2008). Flesh and finitude: Thinking animals in (post) humanist philosophy. *SubStance, 37*(3), 8-36.

Woolley, J., & Best, G. (2015, May 8). Roberts acclaims perfect Grand Annual Steeplechase. *The Standard*, page. 3. Retrieved April 30, 2017, from:http://www.standard.net.au/story/3064800/wrc-chairman-hails-greatest-grand-annual-ever

York, J., Adams, C., & Cody, N. (2008). Therapeutic value of Equine-Human Bonding in Recovery from Trauma. *Anthrozoos, 21*(1), 17-30.

Zaibert, V. (1993). Eneolit Uralo-Irtyshkogo Mezhdurech'ya. *Petropavlosk*. Nuaka.

Zola, I. (1995). Foreword. In D. Goode, *A world without words: the social construction of children born deaf and blind* (pp. ix-xii). Philadephia: Temple University Press.

Appendices: Interview Information

Letter of Invitation

Participant Information Statement

Participant Consent Form

Interview questions

Letter of invitation

The past and future of Australian Jumps Racing: Invitation to participate in national research

Date

Dear Sir/Madam

I invite you to participate in research exploring issues relating to Australian jumps racing as part of my doctoral research at the University of Tasmania.

I am interested in talking to people with expert knowledge of the history and current state of Australian jumps racing.

Your participation will involve a face-to face and conversational interview of approximately 1 to 1.5 hours. The interview will cover the social, historical and economic context of jumps racing to communities in Tasmania, South Australia and Victoria, as well as public and policy debate about the future of jumps racing and the care and well-being of thoroughbred race-horses.

An information sheet providing additional information about my project is attached for your consideration. Also attached is a participant consent form. If you are interested in participating could you please sign the attached consent form and return via Email: Karen.Ruse@utas.edu.au or by post to the above address, also providing your preferred contact details, by [date].

On receiving your consent form, I will contact you to arrange an interview at a time and venue suitable to you. Thank you for your consideration.

Yours Sincerely

Karen Ruse

University of Tasmania

School of Land and Food

Discipline of Geography and Spatial Sciences

Private Bag 78 Hobart

Tasmania 7001

Participant information statement

The past and future of Australian Jumps Racing

Participant Information Sheet

Invitation

This study is being conducted by Karen Ruse in partial fulfilment of a PhD under the supervision of Dr. Aidan Davison and Dr. Kerry Bridle at the University of Tasmania.

What is the purpose of this study?

This study addresses differences between Tasmania, South Australia and Victoria in relation to jumps racing (hurdles, steeplechasing and point-to point). This study also considers the social, economic and historical context of different jumps racing practices between these regions and the significance of jumps racing to local communities. The study will also seek your views on current public and policy debate about the future of jumps racing and the care and well-being of thoroughbred horses.

Why have I been invited to participate?

You are invited to participate because of your knowledge of Australian jumps racing as well as of thoroughbred racing more generally.

What will I be asked to do?

You will be asked to participate in an interview of approximately 1-1.5 hours. The interview will be recorded (with your consent) and involve questions relating to social, historical and economic context of jumps racing in Tasmania, South Australia and Victoria, as well about the care and well-being of horses and the future of jumps racing. For example, likely questions include:

How did you originally become involved in jumps racing? [Participants within the racing industry]

What is your interest in jumps racing? [Participants outside of the racing industry]

What is the importance of local places for the jumps racing industry?

What do you see as the short to medium term future for jumps racing?

What do you see as the main challenges facing jumps racing?

What do you think are the reasons for the media prominence of debates about jumps racing?

Will I be identified in this study?

All information you provide will be treated as confidential, will be accessed only by the researchers, and will be reported anonymously. While you will not be identified individually in this study, organisations or communities to which you belong may be named provided this does not compromise the anonymity of individuals.

Are there any possible benefits from participation in this study?

We cannot and do not guarantee that you will receive any personal benefits from my study. More broadly however, the study aims to contribute to constructive deliberation about the future of jumps racing, its overall significance and longer term sustainability as a part of thoroughbred racing.

Are there any possible risks from participation in this study?

Given the protections of confidentiality and anonymity, there are no foreseeable risks with the study.

What if I change my mind during or after the study?

Your participation is voluntary, and there are no consequences if you should decide not to participate. You are free to withdraw at any time, and to withdraw any information you have provided up until one month after your interview. You may do so without providing an explanation and without affecting your relationship with The University of Tasmania. You may stop the interview at any time if you do not wish to continue, and to request that part or the whole audio recording be erased.

Can I have access to the results of the study?

A copy of the final thesis and any publications that arise from this work will be provided to participants on request.

What will happen to the information when this study is over?

The interview recordings and transcripts will be stored confidentially and securely at the University of Tasmania for a minimum of 5 years after the completion of the study and then will be destroyed consistent with UTas requirements for secure storage and destruction.

What if I have questions about this study?

If you have any questions or would like more information then please contact Karen Ruse by email at Karen.Ruse@utas.edu.au or Dr. Aidan Davison, by telephone +61 3 6226 7590 or: Aidan.Davison@Utas.edu.au

"This study has been approved by the Tasmanian Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have concerns or complaints about the conduct of this study, please contact the Executive Officer of the HREC (Tasmania) Network on +61 3 6226 6254 or email human.ethics@utas.edu.au. The Executive Officer is the person nominated to receive complaints from research participants. Please quote ethics reference number [Hxxxxx]."

This information sheet is for you to keep. Your written consent form will be retained by the project.

Participant Consent Form

Australian Jumps Racing

Participant Statement of Consent

I agree to take part in the research study named above.

I have read and understood the Information Sheet for this study.

The nature and possible effects of the study have been explained to me and I have had any questions answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that the study involves a face to face interview of 1-1.5 h duration that will be audio-recorded.

I understand that participation involves does not involve any specific risk to me as a participant as any material I provide will be treated as confidential and anonymous.

I understand that all research data will be securely stored on the University of Tasmania's premises for at least five years from the completion of the study, and will then be destroyed

I understand that any information I supply to the researchers will be used only for the purposes of the research.

I understand that the results of the study will be published so that I cannot be identified as a participant.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without any effect.

If I so wish, I may request that any data I have supplied be withdrawn from the research until one month after the date of the interview.

Participant's name:
_____

Participant's signature:
_____

Date: _____

Statement by Investigator

☐ I have explained the project and the implications of participation in it to this volunteer and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation.

If the Investigator has not had an opportunity to talk to participants prior to them participating, the following must be ticked.

☐ The participant has received the Information Sheet where my details have been provided so participants have had the opportunity to contact me prior to consenting to participate in this project.

Investigator's name:
_____

Investigator's signature:
_____

Date: _____

Interview Questions

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND HORSE CARE ISSUES IN AUSTRALIAN JUMPS RACING

Industry Participants

Indicative interview questions (The questions will vary depending on location and position of interviewees within the racing industry for example, racing officials, trainers, jockeys or owners. The term jumps racing includes steeplechasing and hurdling).

Introductory Statement about project to all participants

Approach: Open-ended questions selected from the attached list, interview to last 1-1.5 hours.

Introduce myself to participant and broadly outline my research proposal consistent with participant information sheets. Outline the process; questions, that this interview will last around an hour plus, no more than 1.5 h. State I may take notes during the interview in addition to recording it.

Check they signed the consent form and read the other material.

Ask if they would like water/tea/coffee and that they are happy to have the interview recorded.

Check list: Name/position (e.g. trainer/jockey/club official/regulator/title/activist/welfare); location of interview, gender/occupation/age category (?)

Owners and Trainers

How did you first become involved in jumps racing (JR)? Role and duration?

How many jump racing horses have you owned, do you currently own/have in training?

How long have you had them for?

Can you tell me about the horses? (Names, stable names, age, origins)

Are there some horses that stand out for you, tell me about them—*discuss who, language used*

Could you tell me about this seasons jump racing-what was good, the standout horses and races?

Have you had any bad injuries this year? What were they? How did they happen?

What is a typical jumps racing career for your horse? How long does it take to get your horses ready for a jumps race/ start a horse/transition to steeplechasing?

What is the youngest/oldest horse you have had jumping?

How do you choose jumps horses?

Do jumps horses need different training than horses that run in flat races? If yes, then how are they trained/key differences?

How many jumps races a year would your horses do?

How many flat races do they run in? Why do you run your horses in flat races?

How many high weight races do your horses enter in a season?

Where do you source your horses from?

What happens to the horses when they finish a jumps racing career?

What jumps races meetings do you think are the most significant or important races in this state-why?

Has JR changed since you first became involved? Why?

Can you tell me about some of these changes? Which have had the most effect on jumps racing?

Are there differences between jumps racing SA and Vic? Can you tell me about these?

Does Victoria influence SA jumps racing?

What do you think about the media debate about jumps racing?

Have the decisions/debate in SA impacted on Victorian jumps racing?

How important is jumps racing is to racing overall in SA, Vic (or was, in Tas)

Do you think there is a role for welfare groups in racing/JR?

Does jump racing affect the image of racing? Can you tell me about this?

Who supports jumps racing?

Is there a future for jumps racing, locally/ interstate/ overall?

What is it that keeps you involved in jumps racing?

What will you do with the horses if JR finishes?

What will you do if JR finishes?

What would the impacts be on the racing industry if whips were banned? Opportunity basis only

Why should two- year old horses be racing or not racing? On opportunity basis only

Jockeys

Could you tell me how you first became involved in jumps racing?

How long have you been involved in the industry? Or had an interest in jumps racing? HM flat racing do you do?

What is it that you like about jumps racing?

Is the jumps horse special to you?

Stand out horses for you?

How many races have you ridden in this year? (Jockeys)

What sort of skills do you need as a jumps jockey? What training do you have to establish/maintain these skills?

Do you think the horses like jump races?

Have you ridden any that didn't like JR/loved JR? Tell me about them?

There have been more horse deaths this year than last year.

Have you been involved in any falls/fatal this year? Tell me about what happened? Is there anything you think could be done to prevent such incidents?

How do you feel about the fatal accidents this year? *opportunity only and if rapport/trust is established*

Can you describe any changes that you have noticed to JR since you were first involved?

What are the key risks to the horse, from your perspective, in a jumps race?

What would you do to improve JRs safety record-for horses, for jockeys?

What would the impacts be on the racing industry if whips were banned? Opportunity basis only

Why should two- year old horses be racing or not racing? On opportunity basis only

How important/why are hi weight races important?

What do you think about the media debate about jumps racing?

What do you think of the future for jumps racing?

Racing Regulators and Officials (TRSA, RVL)

Could you tell me how you first became involved in jumps racing?

Role and duration

How long have you been involved in the industry? Or had an interest in jumps racing?

Could you tell me about your role and responsibilities on the Jump Review Panel? Are any changes planned for the JRP next season?

Has jumps racing changed since you were first involved?

What regulatory changes have been implemented in the past 3 years? What are the key things that have been done to change jr in the past 3 years?

Can you identify the main safety improvements for me?

Are more changes are now required-if any?

Will jump racing stay on the 2015 racing calendar?

How many races are planned for next year?

Are these to be metropolitan or country races?

Has the debate about jump racing affected considerations about next years racing/jump racing program?

How many horses/jockeys/races are required in your opinion to maintain a races program in 2015? Minimum nos?

Is JR sustainable over the medium to longer term? Have the decisions/debate in SA impacted on Victorian jumps racing?

Where do you see jump racing in 5 years time?

What do you think will make JR disappear/continue?

Is jump racing more expensive to hold than flat racing? Why?

Opportunity basis: Ask about community public attitudes to welfare of the horse and how this affects racing and jr. Why they think the Coalition uses social media-opportunity basis only

What would the impacts be on the racing industry if whips were banned? Opportunity basis only

Why should two- year old horses be racing or not racing? On opportunity basis only

Racing Clubs (Includes Country Racing Vic inc.)

Could you describe your role for me please? How did you first become involved in racing/JR?

When was the first race held in this region?

When did the club hold its first race?

What was the organisation structure of the race club at that time?

Who attends the race meetings?

What are the estimated attendances for the events? Has that changed since you were first involved?

Who owns the jumps? Where do the jumps come from?

Do you have to water the track for the required condition rating? How many times a year does that happen?

Does jumps racing benefit the local community? How?

Is jumps racing important to the local community?

How many people come to a race meeting? Do you track attendances? Differences between jr and flat racing. Opportunity basis only-e.g. Casterton only holds 3 jumps meetings a year-no flat races

What would happen to the community/town/area if jumps racing stopped?

Trainers/horses?

Local influences

How would you describe the Warrnambool carnival?

Are there differences between Australian jumps racing and UK/Ireland? Can you explain these to me?

Does Victoria influence SA jumps racing (and vice versa)?

Do you consider jumps racing to be an economically viable industry?

How important is political support?

Who bets on Jumps Racing?

Has jumps racing changed over the past 5 years. What are these changes and/or can you describe these changes for me?

What changes would you like to see implemented in the future?

How do you characterise the debate about jumps racing? Do you think there is sufficient discussion about jumps racing?

Has the media debate affected jumps racing in your community?

Does jumps racing impact on the image of racing?

Should animal welfare groups play a role in the racing industry?

Where would you like to see jumps racing in 5 -10 years from now?

What is the largest opportunity for jumps racing?

What can be done to improve gambling revenue on jumps racing?

If you had the chance, what are the 3 things you would do to improve the safety/image of JR?

What would the impacts be on the racing industry if whips were banned? Opportunity basis only

Why should two- year old horses be racing or not racing? On opportunity basis only

Tassie specific: Devonport RC

Tell me what you can remember about that last racing year in 2006?

The last jumps race in Tasmania?

How the Club made the decision?

Who took the decision? Consultation or purely a racing decisions?

Were the crowds there?

How big/small was local industry? Trainers/jockeys horses?

What happened when it closed, did trainers and horses go to Vic or just stopped?

Any horses you can recall? Any trainers?

How did this affect the local community?

How did it affect racing in Tas?

Can you tell me about the Victorian influence and participation in JR?

Could JR recommence?

What factors were considered in making the decision to abandon JR?

Impact on Tas racing?

Report, can I have a copy or is there one?* absolutely impossible to locate. Anything to help!

Welfare and Activist Groups

Can you tell me about your role and responsibilities?

Is this a full time role?

How long have you been involved? How did you start?

What activities do you undertake personally, organisationally?

How many hours a week do you work on this issue?

Would you describe yourself as a welfare or animal activist or both? (Can you tell me what these terms mean to you.)

Is your organisation a Charity?

How would you describe it then?

Could you describe the governance framework for the Coalition/ your organisation?

Can you explain to me how you use social media such as fb/the significance of fb friends/likes on fb posts in promoting debate on JR?

What legislation applies to jumps racing—welfare standards? Do you think these could be strengthened? Do they matter?

Do you talk with RVL, SAJC, TRSA, the mainstream press, other welfare groups, eg RSPCA or activist groups?(PETA, AJP,)?

How often?

How many horses do you think are engaged in JR overall?

Are there any of the JR horses that especially stand out for you? Who are they? Have you placed any jumps racing horses into a retirement home?

How would you characterise the current debate about jumps racing?

Why is this such an important issue?

Do you think this will result in any changes and why?

Potential follow up qs if rapport and trust are established?

What impact would a move to Murray Bridge have on SA jump racing? Do you think it will have an impact on the Oakbank carnival? Why?

Will this affect Victorian Jump racing?

What sort of impact will it have on the horses if there is no jump racing at Morphettville next year?

Does your organisation have plans to assist with placing horses if there is an end to jr?

What are the barriers to stopping JR once and for all?

What are the opportunities to stop JR? What is the next major activity you have planned to forward this goal?

What is next, if jumps racing finishes?

If you could do 3 things to make a race horse life better what would these be?

What would the impacts be on the racing industry if whips were banned? Opportunity basis only

Why should two- year old horses be racing or not racing? On opportunity basis only

Others (Journalists, politicians, other interested parties)

Could you tell me how you first became interested in jumps racing?

How long have you had an interest in jumps racing?

Is JR different to flat racing-please explain?

What is it that you like/dislike about jumps racing?

How would you characterise the current debate about jumps racing?

Why is this such an important issue?

Do you think this will result in any changes and why?

Potential follow up qs if rapport and trust are established?

What impact would a move to Murray Bridge have on SA jump racing? Do you think it will have an impact on the Oakbank carnival? Why?

Will this affect Victorian Jump racing?

What sort of impact will it have on the horses if there is no jump racing at Morphettville next year?

Is JR sustainable over the medium to longer term? Have the decisions/debate in SA impacted on Victorian jumps racing?

Where do you see jump racing in 5 years' time?

What do you think will make JR disappear/continue?

Opportunity basis: Ask about community public attitudes to welfare of the horse and how this affects racing and jr. Why they think the Coalition uses social media- opportunity basis only

What would the impacts be on the racing industry if whips were banned? Opportunity basis only

Why should two- year old horses be racing or not racing? On opportunity basis only